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History of the Alien Priories in England to the Confiscation of Henry V.

A DISSERTATION

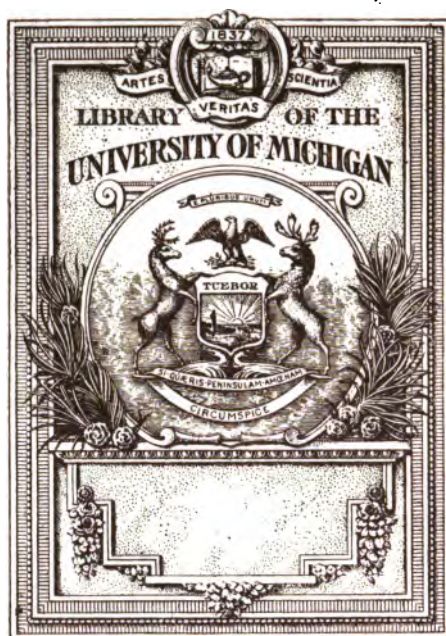
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(THE GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL: CHURCH HISTORY)

BY

CHESTER WILLIAM NEW

A Private Edition
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INTRODUCTION

The following study of the English alien priories is submitted as a piece of pioneer work in a field which has received practically no attention by students of English history. The only other work on the alien priories is that published by John Nichol in 1779 and, as is indicated in the bibliography, it is the French mother-houses and not the English priories which are there studied and the point of view of the work is antiquarian throughout. Some pages on the alien priories are to be found in works such as those by Taunton, Gasquet, and Wylie mentioned in the bibliography but they show no attempt at a systematic study of the subject as a whole and the conclusions there stated are superficial and often inaccurate.

The subject is of some importance in its relation to the religious and political life of the period and has particularly close relationship to the development of English national spirit during the Hundred Years War and the roots of the nationalist phase of the English Reformation. The writer's hope is that this study will afford an introduction to further investigation of a neglected subject and will be of value to those pursuing correlated lines of study in English mediaeval history.

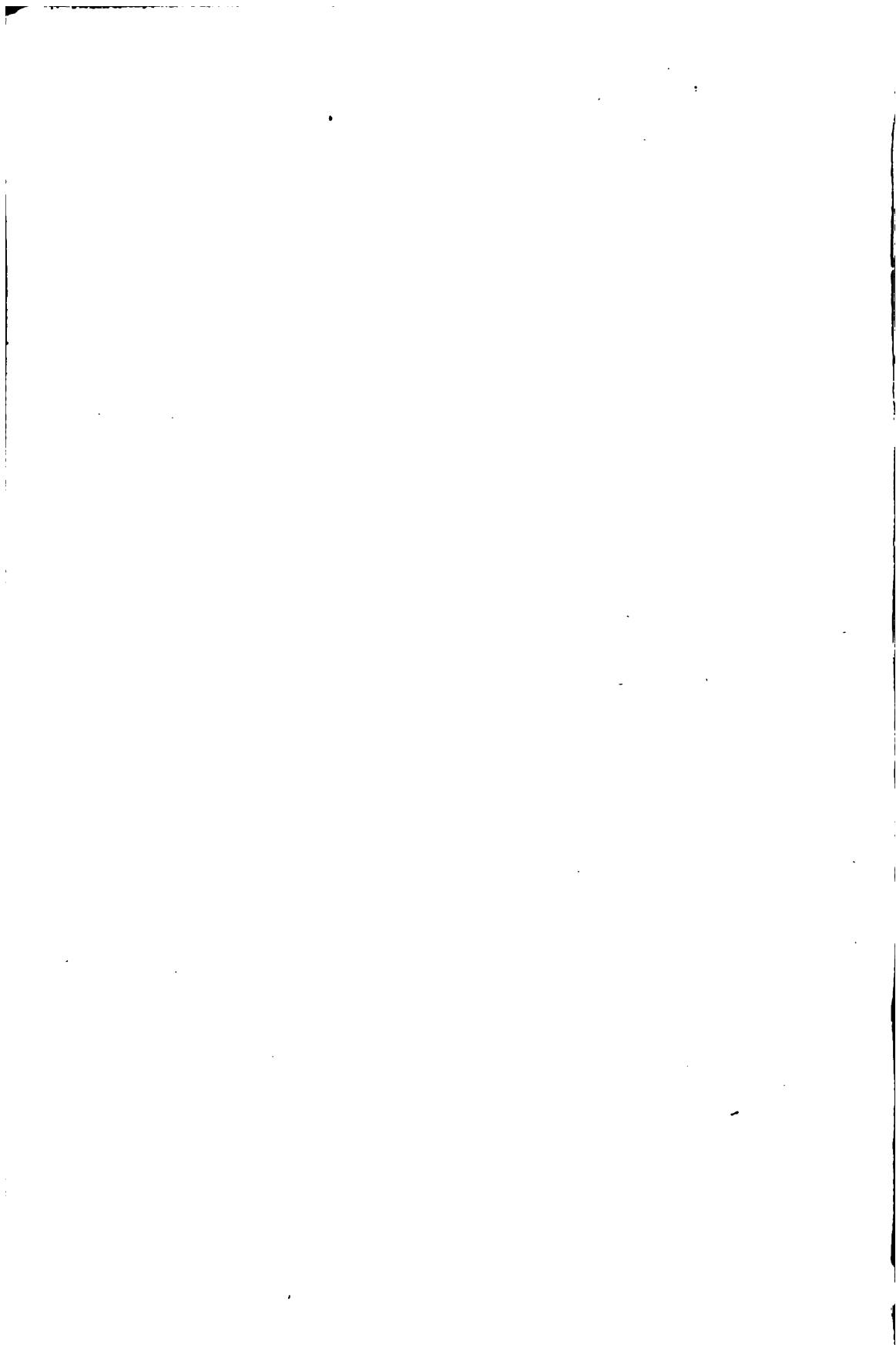
The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor James Westfall Thompson of the University of Chicago, under whose general direction the work was done, for his kindly interest and helpful suggestions throughout and to Professor Benjamin Terry for valuable criticisms and suggestions in regard to completing the work. He wishes also to express his thanks to Professor A. F. Pollard of the University of London and Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office for kindly services in the way of facilitating his research.

7-14-33

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This list contains only documents and books which have been of direct value in the preparation of this dissertation. A number of others were consulted, but not found to be of sufficient value to include in this bibliography.

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- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Abbrev. Placit. | Abbreviatio Placitorum (Record Commission). |
| Ab. Rot. Or. | Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalum, etc. (Record Commission). |
| Add. MSS. | Additional Manuscripts in British Museum. |
| Anc. Deeds | Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (Calendar Series). |
| Anc. Pet. | Ancient Petitions in Public Record Office, London. |
| Annales Mon. | Annales Monastici (Roll Series). |
| | Annales Paulini—Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II (Roll Series). |
| Arch. Journ. | Archaeological Journal (London). |
| Barth. Cotton | Bartholomew de Cotton—Historia Anglicana (Roll Series). |
| B. M. Seals | British Museum Seals. |
| | Canterbury and York Society—Publications. |
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| Chanc. Misc. | Chancery Miscellanea in Public Record Office. |
| Chart. R. | Charter Rolls in Public Record Office. Calendars of Charter, Close, Fine, and Patent Rolls were generally used. |
| Ch. & Rec. Cl. | Charters and Records of the Abbey of Cluny ed. Sir G. F. Duckett, 1888. |
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HISTORY OF THE ALIEN PRIORIES IN ENGLAND TO THE CONFISCATION OF HENRY V

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE ALIEN PRIORIES

The simplest definition of an alien priory is that it was an English religious house, dependent upon a foreign monastery. The scope of the term "alien priory," however, must, to meet the demands of our subject, be limited in one direction and extended somewhat in another. It must be limited so as to comprise only priories which, at a given time, during the French wars, were "in the power of the King of France." In the records with which we have to deal the dependencies of other foreign houses were not thought of as alien priories because they were not involved in the alien priory problem. Alien priories were *French priories*. At Writtle in Essex, for instance, there was an alien hospital dependent upon the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in the Church of St. Mary in Saxia in Rome. This was never seized as an alien priory during the wars.¹

On the other hand, the term was often extended to include *all* the English possessions of French religious houses. These were all involved in the problem and a loose collective usage of the term included them. It is quite common to find a manor held by a French monastery and administered simply by a bailiff referred to in the records as "the manor of A called the alien priory of A." This fact has led to a good deal of confusion, and lists of religious houses compiled by modern writers often include a number of so-called "priories" which were manors of this kind. While, therefore, bearing in mind this collective use of the term and remembering that the subject properly includes all these possessions of French houses, we shall strive in our presentation to distinguish by calling bailiff-administered estates "manors," advowsons of churches "churches," and reserve the term "priory" for estates where there was an actual religious community, whether or not enjoying full conventional rights.

Before proceeding further, however, with the classification of alien priories it seems advisable to discuss the question of their origin, after which the problems of classification may be treated to better advantage.

The alien priories owe their origin primarily to the Norman Conquest. The history of three of them, however, goes back beyond the Conquest.

¹ See Chart. R. 5 John m. 9. Pat. 14. Ri. II, 2:27. Pap. L. I:50, IV:283.

In the year 918 Ethelrude, niece of Alfred the Great, gave to the abbey of St. Peters, Ghent, a manor in Kent, on which there was later erected the priory of Lewisham, which priory was considered alien during the French wars, and as such confiscated by Henry V and given to his new Carthusian monastery at Shene.²

Edward the Confessor showed his devotion to St. Denis by giving to that abbey the lands of an old monastery at Deerhurst, in the present county of Gloucester. St. Denis shortly afterward sent monks over to reside at Deerhurst and to administer the new possessions.³ Edward also gave lands in Essex to the Abbey of St. Ouen, at Rouen, on which was later established the priory of West Mersea.⁴

Other lands were given to French abbeys before the Conquest on which priories were not established, but which nevertheless became involved in the alien priory problem. Alfgar gave the manor of Lapley in the present Staffordshire to the House of St. Remigius in Rheims.⁵ There is no evidence of a priory ever being established there. It is several times called "alien priory" in the Patent Rolls,⁶ but the following entry shows in what sense:—"the manor or grange of Lapley, commonly called the alien priory of Lapley."⁷ Domesday shows that the manor of Rameslie in Sussex was held by Fecamp in the time of Edward the Confessor.⁸ There is no record of a priory ever being established on this manor.

But with the Norman Conquest we come to the general establishment of alien priories. No student of mediaeval history needs to be reminded that the eleventh century was a great monastery building age, and that Normandy was a famous field of that widespread enthusiasm. When the Norman barons came to England they carried with them a devotion to the abbeys of Normandy, several of which they themselves had founded, and to many of which they had given a large share of their Norman lands. When they received new lands in England they were not forgetful of the religious houses "outre mer," and large tracts of English land were given to Norman abbeys, which in many cases sent over a colony of monks to settle on the newly acquired land. Here we have the roots of what developed into the alien priory problem.

² Round Doc. 1372. Pat. 5, Henry V, m. 22.

³ Monasticon III, 664. Worc. Reg. Vac. Sede (W. H. S.) 308.

⁴ Cl. 4, Edw. III, m. 34. Pat I, Hy. IV, 7:10.

⁵ Monast. VI, 1042.

⁶ Pat. 1 Hy. V, 5:11 and 10 Pat. 35 Edw. III, 1:15.

⁷ Pat. 3, Hy. V, 1:6.

⁸ D. D. fol. 17a.

The Conqueror himself came of a monastery building family. His ancestors had founded a number of monasteries in the duchy,⁹ and he himself and his wife built two houses at Caen, one, St. Stephen's for monks, and the other (Matilda's endowment) La Trinite for nuns.¹⁰ Of his English land, William gave to St. Stephen's the manors of Frampton and Bincombe in Dorset and seven hides of land at East Hendred in Berkshire. Matilda added the manor of Northam in Devonshire "during her last illness."¹¹ Just when the priory of Frampton was built we do not know. There is no indication that William had in mind the establishment of a priory. St. Stephen's, however, saw fit to send a small colony of monks to Frampton, and the lands mentioned above, together with others added later especially by Henry I¹² were administered by the priory of Frampton during the French wars.¹³ To La Trinité, William and Matilda gave the manor of Felstead in Essex, Minchinhampton and Penneberia in Gloucester, and Tarent and other lands in Dorset.¹⁴

Nor did William forget the other Norman abbeys. St. Peter of Jumieges (which had been restored by William's great-great-grandfather William Longsword, Duke of Normany—d. 943) received a portion of the island of Hayling off the Hampshire coast, on which the priory of Hayling was later built.¹⁵ It is probable that there were never more than three or four monks in this priory.¹⁶ To Mont S. Michel he gave the manor of Otterington in Cornwall,¹⁷ where John later established a priory of four monks.¹⁸ Mont S. Michel had been founded by William's great-great-grandfather to replace secular canons already estab-

⁹ Dugdale (Mon. VI, 1063) prints an extract from a Bodleian manuscript giving the monastic foundations of the dukes of Normandy.

¹⁰ Round Doc. 155. Ord. Vit. lib. III, 1, VII, 9. Matt. Paris (R. S.) I, 26, 35, III, 172, 174. William and Matilda were both buried at Caen.

¹¹ Round Doc. 450, 452, 453.

¹² *Ibid.*, 452.

¹³ Min. Accts. (R. O.) Bundle 1125, No. 1, Bundle 1126, No. 17 gives under the priory of Frampton the manors of Brideton, Bincombe, Bettiscombe, Cawdon, Ercele, Frampton, Sydling, and Winterborne in Dorset; Northam in Devon; and East Hendred, in Berkshire.

¹⁴ Round Doc. 422.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1423. The date of the building of the priory is unknown. Round Doc. 1147 doubts the existence of a priory before 1147.

¹⁶ Deshayes 8788. This shows clearly that a real priory *did* exist.

¹⁷ Pat. 5, Edw. III, 1:29.

¹⁸ Cl. 6, Edw. III m. 19.

lished there by Benedictine monks.¹⁹ To the abbey of Holy Trinity (St. Catharine's Hill) Rouen, William "at the advice and suggestion of his faithful steward William Fitz Osbern" gave "the land called Harmondsworth (Middlesex) with the church and all its appurtenances."²⁰ This was the origin of the priory of Harmondsworth.

Bec received from William the manor of Riselip in Middlesex.²¹ Since 1291 this had become "parcel" of Ogbourne priory.²² Before that date we hear several times of a "prior" of Riselip, but there is no evidence of there being a priory there, and the so-called "prior" was probably a monk-bailiff.²³ The abbey of St. Peter's, Preaux, received from the Conqueror the manor of Aston in Wiltshire. No priory was built, and after the foundation of Tofts priory it was administered by the prior of Tofts.²⁴ To the abbey of St. Wandrille which had been built by his grandfather, Duke Richard II,²⁵ William granted churches, lands, and tithes at Whitechurch and Bradpole in Dorset, Sherstone in Wiltshire, and Toucester in Northamptonshire.²⁶ No priory was built on these lands.

The Angevin house of St. Florent, Saumur, received from William a hide and fourteen acres of land and various tithes and pasture rights in Hampshire. The priory of Andover was established there shortly after this grant.²⁷ The house of St. Carleph-Le Mans received a grant of land at Covenham in Lincolnshire on which no priory was established.²⁸ The abbey of St. Valery in Picardy also benefited by the new king's generosity. We are told that it was the prayer of the good

¹⁹ Roberti Accessiones ad Sigebertum—Chron. St., etc., IV, 20. Ord. Vit. bk. III, ch. 1.

²⁰ Chartularium Mon. Sanctae Trin. printed with Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Bertin, No. LXVII. Round Doc. 1069. The document given by Round adds, "This gift was made by a knife which the King playfully gave the abbot as if about to stab his hand." William Fitz Osbern's son-in-law, Ansfredus, son of Osbern de Ou, afterwards gave lands to La Trinité, and William Fitz Osbern's grandson became a monk in the monastery on St. Catherine's Hill.

²¹ Tanner, Notitia. Since the priories are carefully arranged in the Notitia, each under its county, I have throughout omitted page references. Mon. VI, 1050.

²² Tax. P. N. 14, 17b.

²³ Cl. 4, Hy. III, m. 15. Pat. 11, H. I, III, m. 2d. Pat. 13, Hy. III, m. 8d. Pat. 18, Hy. III, m. 15.

²⁴ Round Doc. 318. Min. Accts. (R. O.) Bdle. 1127, No. 11. Add. Mss. 6164.

²⁵ Ord. Vit. III, 1.

²⁶ Reg. St. Osmund (R. S.) I, 23. Whitchurch and Sherstone were later given by St. Wandrille to the bishopric of Salisbury and became part of a prebend. Reg. St. Osm. I, 229-230.

²⁷ Pat. 8, Edw. III, 2:1.

²⁸ Pat. 3, Edw. I, m. 17.

monks of St. Valery that brought the long looked for wind that blew William and his conquering host to English shores.²⁹ William did not forget them. He gave them lands in Essex which led to the foundation of Takeley. If Takeley was not a large monastery, it compared favorably with the other alien priories.³⁰

From the Conqueror's gifts we pass to those of his great lieutenants, William Fitz Osbern and Roger Montgomery. William Fitz Osbern had founded the Norman abbeys of Cormeiles and Lire.³¹ His devotion to Cormeiles was expressed by the gift of a considerable grant of land in Gloucestershire. This was administered by a bailiff, who was often called "the prior of Newent."³² There was no priory at Newent however. Newent was sometimes referred to as a priory,³³ but in what sense is illustrated by the following extracts. Pat. 5 Ri. II, 2: 9 gives a license for the abbot and convent of Cormeiles to grant to John Devereux for life "their manor of Newent, called the priory of Newent." The Episcopal Registers of Bishop Swincombe of Hereford inform us that the abbot of Cormeiles had no house in Hereford diocese, but that he possessed many appropriate churches in the diocese and had a monk-bailiff, with one monk companion, who "is commonly called a prior."³⁴ This entry affects also the so-called priory of Lire Ocle and affords a good example of the monk-bailiff. It reads,—"*Abbas de Lyra . . . et eius conventus habent plures ecclesias parochiales et appropriates in diocesi Herefordensi et unum procuratorem cum unico socio monacho qui ipsas custodit, sed nullam domum nec ecclesiam conventualem seu collegiatam in Herefordensi diocesi habent. Item similiter abbas et conventus de Cormeliis . . . habent plures ecclesias parochiales et appropriatas in diocesi Herefordensi et unum ballivum monachum cum uno socio monacho qui prior vulgariter nuncupatur.*" To Lire Fitz Osbern gave land in Hampshire on which the priory of Carisbroke was established.³⁵ In 1295 this priory had six monks.³⁶

²⁹ See Freeman N. C. I, 393-5.

³⁰ Mon. 1048. D.D. II, 20b. Takeley was farmed to its prior in 1337 for £126. Cl. 11, Edw. III, 2:37.

³¹ Neustria Pia 595ff., 534, 535. Ord. Vit. III, 1. Cormeile was chosen by its founder as his last resting place—Ord. Vit. III, 1.

³² Cj. 15, Edw. III, 3; 6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III, 1; 6d. Pat. 35, Edw. III, 1:15. Hereford Ep. Reg. Swinfield 512 (H. R. S.)

³³ E.g., Proc. P. C. I, 194.

³⁴ Hereford Ep. Reg. Swinfield 357 (H. R. S.).

³⁵ Transcript of Chartulary of Carisbroke in possession of W. A. Lindsay, K. C., F. S. A., cited in V. C. H.—Hampshire—II, 230.

³⁶ Add. MSS B. M. 6164.

Roger Montgomery founded the Norman Benedictine abbey of Séez, refounded the monastery of St. Martin, Trouarn, by substituting monks for canons there, and restored the nunnery of Almenesches.³⁷ Each of these Norman houses obtained a share of Roger's newly acquired English lands. To Séez he gave a number of manors in Sussex, including that of Arundel "and the church of Hertinges for a brother of the Countess Mabel, who was made a monk in that monastery."³⁸ At Arundel there were twenty English secular canons, and Roger substituted for them a colony of French monks from Séez, who administered the property which he had given to the Norman abbey.³⁹ We shall see later how Roger's sons followed his example and founded a number of priories dependent on the abbey of Séez. To Trouarn Roger gave the manor of Horsley, on which no priory was established, and which quickly drops out of view.⁴⁰ Almenesches received from Roger Montgomery the lands in Sussex on which the priory of Leominster was established.⁴¹

In addition to these gifts to the Benedictines, Roger also remembered the Cluniacs. He rebuilt a ruined monastery at Wenlock and placed in it a Cluniac prior and monks from La Charité-sur-Loire.⁴² Wenlock was one of the largest of the Cluniac foundations in England, having at different times from thirty-five to forty-five monks.⁴³ It came in time to have three cells,—Prene in Shropshire, St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight, and Dudley in Staffordshire,—dependent upon it, as it was dependent upon La Charité and La Charité upon Cluny.⁴⁴ This highly centralized organization caused all the Cluniac houses in England to be regarded as alien priories.

Robert, Earl of Mortain, was responsible for the foundation of two alien priories. About the year 1085 he granted lands in Cornwall to the Benedictine abbey of Mont S. Michel and in "the year King Henry died" (1135), a priory was established at St. Michael's Mount, dependent upon Mont S. Michel, thirteen monks from the Norman abbey forming the original colony.⁴⁵ In this case we see that fifty years elapsed

³⁷ Ord. Vit. III, 2. Pap. L. IV, 239. Bodl. MSS printed in Monast. VI, 1063 ff.

³⁸ Round Doc. 656.

³⁹ Pap. L. IV, 239.

⁴⁰ Trouarn seems to have lost the manor before the reign of Edward I, and it plays no part in this history. (D.D. I, 166b. Pat. 11 Ri. II 1:6 (Inspex).

⁴¹ Monast. VI, 1032.

⁴² Gervaise of Canterbury (R.S.) I, 260. Roger of Hovenden I, 103.

⁴³ Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 137; II, 123, 137, 209.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 197.

⁴⁵ Round Doc. 689 and 729.

between the first grant and the building of the priory. To the abbey of Grestein, Robert of Mortain granted the manors of Creting St. Olave in Suffolk, Wilmington in Sussex, and lands in Salsintona, Cambridge.⁴⁶ At Wilmington a priory was built later,—just when we do not know. Robert's Countess, Matilda, daughter of Roger Montgomery, at the same time gave to Grestein the manor of Canoc in Wiltshire, Marsh in Buckingham and other lands, which came to be administered by the priory of Wilmington.⁴⁷ Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester, made grants during the Conqueror's reign which resulted in the establishment of two alien priories dependent on the monastery of St. Sever in Normany,—Hagham in Lincolnshire and Endeston in Somerset.⁴⁸

Hugo de Grandmesnil, with his brother Robert, had founded the Norman monastery of St. Evroult.⁴⁹ Robert became a monk there and the second abbot.⁵⁰ Hugh added to his already munificent gifts of Norman lands a share of his English lands,—the manor and church of Ware, and other lands in Hertford, to which St. Evroult sent a colony of monks who formed the priory of Ware.⁵¹ To the Angevin house at St. Florent, Saumur, to which the Conqueror had already granted Andover, William de Braiosa, in 1075, gave lands at Sele in Sussex, on which an alien priory was established.⁵² Robert de Tonei, son of Roger de Tonei, founder of Conches, gave to his father's Norman foundation certain of his English lands in Warwickshire, on which the alien priory of Wotton was established.⁵³

Of the five Cluniac priories, founded during the Conqueror's reign, we have mentioned only Wenlock. By far the most important Cluniac house in England was the priory of Lewes. It was founded by Earl William de Warenne in 1078. In his first charter the founder and his wife gave to the abbey of Cluny "for the redemption of our souls and with the counsel and consent of our Lord, William King of the English," the church of St. Pancras (Lewes) and its appurtenances and certain adjacent lands.⁵⁴ In a second charter he gives a detailed account of

⁴⁶ Chart R. 9 Edw. II m. 21 (Inspex) D.D. I, 20b, 21b.

⁴⁷ Chart. R. 9 Edw. II m. 21 (Inspex) Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125, No. 1.

⁴⁸ Monast. VI, 1050. Tanner—Notitia.

⁴⁹ Ord. Vit. III, 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Ord. Vit. VI, 5. See *Ibid.* for other grants of English land to St. Evroult by the Conqueror's barons.

⁵² Monast. IV, 668.

⁵³ Monast. VI, 994.

⁵⁴ Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 43-45.

the founding of the priory and the circumstances which turned his thoughts in that direction. While making a pilgrimage to St. Peter's, Rome, he and his wife visited a number of monasteries in France and Burgundy. Their journey having been rendered unsafe by reason of the war between Pope and Emperor they took refuge in the monastery of Cluny and became attached to that house more than to any other they had visited. And since, owing to the counsel of Lanfranc, they had for some time intended to "found some house of religion on account of our sins and for the safety of our souls," they felt that for no order would they more gladly do so than for that of Cluny. "Therefore we sent and asked of the Lord Hugo, the abbot, and all the holy congregation that they grant us two, or three or four monks of their holy flock to whom we should give a certain church under our castle of Lewes, and also certain lands, animals, and other properties capable of sustaining twelve monks. But the holy abbot was at first lothe to hear us on account of the distance of the alien land, and especially because of the sea. Yet after we had obtained license from our Lord, King William, to bring Cluniac monks to English land and the abbot on his part had consulted the wishes of the King, he sent to us four of his monks." So the first Cluniac monks came to England. The rest of this charter is taken up with the details of the founder's gifts and certain resolutions regarding the relation of Lewes to the mother-house at Cluny, which will be discussed in the next chapter.⁵⁵ In the year 1276 there were fifty monks at Lewes.⁵⁶

Among the additional gifts of William de Warenne was that of the church of Acre (Castleacre) and two curruçates of land on which William intended to build a priory dependent upon Lewes, to which the priory of Lewes should send a certain number of its monks.⁵⁷ Castleacre came to be one of the most important Cluniac houses in England, and we shall see how in time it freed itself from dependence upon Lewes and became directly dependent upon Cluny.

Northampton, one of the largest of the English Cluniac priories, was founded about 1084 by Simon St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, who had come over with the Conqueror and married William's daughter, Maud.⁵⁸ Northampton was made dependent upon the house of the La Charité-sur-Loire. Lands at Bermundsey in Surrey were given to La Charité

⁵⁵ Chart. and Rec. Cl. I, 47-53.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 142.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 50.

⁵⁸ Monast. V, 190.

by Alvin Child in 1082,⁵⁹ and monks were first sent over the channel to Bermondsey in 1089.⁶⁰ Only four monks were sent over at first, but the priory at Bermondsey came in time to number between thirty and forty monks.⁶¹ Thus five Cluniac priories were founded in the Conqueror's reign, three dependent upon La Charité, one (Lewes) dependent directly upon Cluny, and the other (Castleacre) dependent upon Lewes, and at a later date directly upon Cluny.

A number of other grants were made during this reign by William's barons, for which reference may be made to the table in the appendix. In addition to a number of manors which were administered by bailiffs residing on the estates, rather than by the heads of religious communities, we have during the Conqueror's reign the original grants made for thirty-two alien priories. The Norman beneficiaries are the abbey of St. Sever (two priories) Mont S. Michel (two priories), St. Stephen, Caen (two), and Lire, Bernay, Holy Trinity at Rouen, Almenesches, St. Evroult, Grestein, St. Pierre sur Dives, Conches, St. Taurin Evreux, Corneilles, Jumieges—altogether seventeen priories dependent on Norman houses. French houses outside of Normandy acquired fifteen dependencies through original gifts made in the Conqueror's reign (eight of these belonging to Anjou),—St. Florent Saumur, in Anjou, three; St. Nicholas Angers, three; La Charité (in the Nivernais) three; Cluny two; St. Sergius and Bachus two; and Marmoutier Tours, and St. Valery one each.

Passing from the Conqueror's reign to those of the other Norman kings we shall concern ourselves only with those grants which led to the foundation of new priories. But it must be remembered that additional grants were continually being made to the older ones. Keeping that fact in mind, a glance at the following table of grants, resulting in the establishment of alien priories, will show that for over a century the sons of William's Norman barons lacked nothing of the devotion of their fathers to the monasteries of Normandy, as shown by their generosity with English lands:⁶²

In the 21 years of William I's	reign—	32
“ “ 13 “ “ William II's	“	—12
“ “ 35 “ “ Henry I's	“	—30
“ “ 19 “ “ Stephen's	“	— 9
“ “ 35 “ “ Henry II's	“	—19

⁵⁹ Ann. Mon. (R.S.) III, 425-6. M. P. Chron. Mag. (R.S.) II, 35.

⁶⁰ Ann. Mon. III, 427, IV, 373. M. P. Chron. Mag. II, 29.

⁶¹ Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 37, II, 124, 125, 131.

⁶² For particulars and authorities see table in Appendix.

The falling off after that is easily accounted for, and will be explained later.

We shall now turn to the reign of Rufus, dealing only with those grants which are most significant for our subject. The bare outline facts relating to the others may be found in the Appendix.

The gift of Abergavenny in Monmouth to St. Vincent, Le Mans, by Hamelin de Ballan is an interesting one. We are informed that "Hamelin born at Ballan, . . . came to the abbey of St. Vincent and St. Laurence, and sought the benefits of the place, begging that for love of him the monks would receive Hubert, a knight of his into the monastery. At whose earnest entreaty they received that knight into their order . . . and also consented to make Hamelin himself, with his wife and sons and a knight of his, Odo de Tiron, who was with him, partaker in all the benefits. And Hamelin gave them the chapel of his castle . . . which in the British tongue they call "Bergevenny," and all appurtenances . . .; and land for making a principal church in which they should serve God, and land for their own dwelling."⁶³

To Roger Montgomery's English gifts to his foundation at Sééz, his sons, Roger the Poitevin and Arnulph added liberally. Roger gave the lands on which the priory of Lancaster was immediately established. His original gift was much more extensive than the possessions which Lancaster held during the war, and which were farmed in 1413 for £110.⁶⁴ Roger the Poitevin's grant states distinctly that it was made with the purpose of establishing a priory.⁶⁵ It was made in 1094, and we hear of a convent at Lancaster in 1138.⁶⁶ The priory was built then between 1094 and 1138, and perhaps immediately after the land was granted. Arnulph de Montgomery gave to Sééz the possessions which constituted the priory of Pembroke,⁶⁷ which was built within two years of the grant of the lands.⁶⁸

The abbey of St. Peter's, Preaux, had received its first English possession from the Conqueror,—the manor of Aston in Wiltshire. Roger de Beaumont, (whose father, Humphrey de Vielles, and his mother had founded both monasteries at Preaux) added to this family foundation

⁶³ Literally "dwellings," but evidently meaning land on which a priory should be built. Round Doc. 1045.

⁶⁴ Harl. MSS (B.M.) 3764 fol. 1a. Add. MSS (B.M.) 32107. Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125, 1. Pat. 1, Hy. V, 4:24. Round Doc. 664-5.

⁶⁵ Harl. MSS 3764 fol. 1a.

⁶⁶ Lanc. Pipe Rolls 276.

⁶⁷ Round. Doc. 666, Monast. VI, 999.

⁶⁸ Round. Doc. 667.

during the Conqueror's reign, in addition to large gifts in Norman lands, five hides of English land at Arlescote.⁶⁹ Roger himself became a monk at St. Peter's, Preaux, in his later years.⁷⁰ In 1099 his son Robert, Count of Meulan, gave to St. Peter's the manor of Tofts in Norfolk, and the churches of Charlton and Spettisbury in Wiltshire, with tithes at both places. We are told that some additional land at Charlton was given by "Hugh villanus," "with permission of Robert, Count of Meulan."⁷¹ On the manor of Tofts a priory was established which administered these lands and others (e. g., the manor at Warmington, Warwick) given to Preaux at a later date. We first hear of this priory in the reign of Edward I.⁷² A grant of land at Tickford, near Newport Pagnel, was made during Rufus' reign by Fulk Pagnel. Whether a priory was actually established at this time, we do not know. We first hear of "the monastery of St. Mary, Newport" in 1151, over half a century later.⁷³

Further foundations of alien priories during Rufus' reign are noted in the Appendix. There are twelve in all. Eight of these priories were dependent upon Norman abbeys (Sées two, Montebourg, Lonlay, Bec, Preaux, Holy Trinity Rouen, St. Pierre sur Dives one each). Abbeys outside of Normandy received four dependencies in this way,—La Charité (Cluniac) two, and St. Vincent at Le Mans and Marmoutier at Tours one each.

Turning to Henry I's reign, we notice first that Henry himself was especially devoted to the Abbey of Cluny. In this connection a letter of Peter the Venerable is of some interest. He says,—“Among all the kings of the Latin Empire who for the last two hundred years have testified their affection for the church at Cluny, and tended to augment her influence as well, Henry, King of the English, Duke of Normandy, has surpassed all others in his gifts, and has evinced more than an ordinary share of love and attachment to it. It was ~~he~~ who perfected that great basilica (of Cluny) commenced under the auspices and donations of Alphonso, King of Spain, exceeding all other known churches in the Christian world in its construction and beauty.”⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Round. Doc. 318.

⁷⁰ Ord. Vit. III, 1; VIII, 25.

⁷¹ Round Doc. 326, 355.

⁷² Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126 No. 9. Hundred Rolls (R.C.) I, 540.

⁷³ Round Doc. 1231.

⁷⁴ Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 104-5.

Henry I founded no Cluniac priory in England, but he gave to the Abbey of Cluny the manors of Nanton and Tixover in Rutland and Ufford-Cluny in Huntingdon, which the Abbot of Cluny administered through bailiffs.⁷⁶ Eleven Cluniac priories were founded in England during his reign,⁷⁸ and there can be no doubt that the King's interest in Cluny contributed to that result. Roger Bigod, Henry's steward of the household, who was dissuaded from going to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage and assured by mother church that the building of a monastery would be a fit penance for the sins of his soul, founded the priory of Thetford. The gift was made to Cluny, but the Abbot of Cluny left the new priory in the hands of the prior of Lewes. The building of the monastery seems to have been completed before the death of the founder in 1108. William of Malmesbury gives 1104 as the year in which Cluniac monks were established at Thetford.⁷⁷

William, Earl of Mortain, granted to Cluny churches and lands in Somerset, on which was built the priory of Montacute,⁷⁸ "Jokel, son of Alured" founded the Cluniac priory of Barnstaple, which he made dependent on the house of St. Martin-des-Champs, Paris.⁷⁹ It is possible that in this reign also, St. Martin-des-Champs received the priory of St. Clare.⁸⁰

Six other Cluniac priories were founded during this reign and made dependent upon English Cluniac houses and owing to the close dependency of the latter (Castleacre, Lewes, Thetford, Montacute) upon Cluny were during the war period included among the alien priories. Of these, three (Farleigh, Prittlewell and Clifford) were made dependent upon Lewes, Bromholm upon Castleacre (which in turn was a "cell" of Lewes), Horksley upon Thetford and Malpas upon Montacute.⁸¹

Returning from these Cluniac foundations to the gifts of the king Henry I to foreign monasteries, we must note the grant to Bec of the manor of Steventon where a priory was established, and the church of Pontorson to Mont S. Michel.⁸² But as the latter does not seem to

⁷⁶ Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 66-7.

⁷⁸ In the case of St. Clare and Malpas I am simply following the conjectures of Tanner for placing them in this reign.

⁷⁷ W. M. Gesta 151.

⁷⁸ Chart. R. 34, Hy. III, m., 10 (Inspex).

⁷⁹ Round Doc. 1268; Monast. V, 197.

⁸⁰ Tanner-Notitia.

⁸¹ See Appendix for details.

⁸² Chronica Roberto de Torigneio in (R.S.) Chr. Stephen Hy. II, Ri. I, IV, 197, Appendix 345.

have remained in the possession of Mont S. Michel down to the period of the French wars, it does not form part of our subject.

In this reign we meet again with family gifts to foreign monasteries. Ralf de Tancerville, chamberlain of the Conqueror, had founded the Benedictine Abbey of Boucherville in Normandy.⁸³ His son William de Tancerville in Henry's reign gave to Boucherville lands in Rutland on which the priory of Edith Weston⁸⁴ was established, and in Wiltshire where the priory of Avebury⁸⁵ was established. In neither grant is an intention of founding a monastery expressed and the priories were probably established by Boucherville at some later date.

Richard de Redvers had granted Appuldercombe to Montebourg in Rufus' reign. Between 1107 and 1120 he gave to the same monastery the manor of Loders in Dorset, where another priory dependent on Montebourg was established.⁸⁶ He also gave the manor and church of Axmouth in Devon and the manor of Wica in the Isle of Wight, while his mother Adeliz gave the manor of Olveley in Berkshire.⁸⁷ All these came to be administered by the priory of Loders.⁸⁸

In 1115 we find Stephen, Earl of Albemarle, giving to his own foundation at Aumale (Albemarle) in Normandy certain churches, tithes and lands in Yorkshire which came to be administered by the priory of Birdstall.⁸⁹ We do not hear of this priory until a century and a half later in the time of Archbishop Gifford (1266-1279).⁹⁰

The priory of Burwell, on the other hand, was certainly built shortly after the original grant. The charter of Ansgot de Burewell (dated by Round c. 1110)⁹¹ states that "on his way back from St. James (of Compostella) passing by the holy and religious house of La Sauve Majeure, he has given it for its great charity and love the church of Burewelle" and a number of other churches in Lincolnshire with their appurtenances and an additional grant of land. A priory must have been built very soon after this because in a writ of Henry I (c. 1130) the "monks of Burewell" are referred to.⁹²

⁸³ Round, Doc. 1114.

⁸⁴ Pat. 9, Edw. II, 2:11 (Inspex) Round, Doc. P. 66, 69.

⁸⁵ Neustria Pia 691, Pat. 9, Edw. II, 2:11 (Inspex).

⁸⁶ Round, Doc. 876.

⁸⁷ Round, Doc. 878.

⁸⁸ Min. Accts. Bdle, 1125 No. 1; Bdle. 1126, No. 16; Bdle. 1126, No. 20.

⁸⁹ Monast. VI, 1020; Tanner-Notitia.

⁹⁰ Monast. VI, 1020, Reg. Arch. Gifford (Surtees Soc.) 254, 287.

⁹¹ Round, Doc. 1239.

⁹² Round, Doc. 1241.

In the case of Boxgrove, which was granted to the Norman Abbey of Lessay during Henry I's reign by Robert de Haya, the founder himself seems to have built the priory and settled three monks there. His son-in-law added three more and his grandson raised the number to thirteen.⁹³

The origin of the alien priory of St. Neot's, Huntingdon, presents another type. An old monastery had existed there, subordinate to the English abbey of Ely. Gilbert de Clare expelled the monks, and his son Robert's wife, Rohesia, gave the house and manor to Bec, the Norman abbey establishing a priory there.⁹⁴

In the case of Coggs (Oxfordshire) we learn that the Abbot of Fécamp was in England and at Coggs when Monassez Arsic renewed a previous charter to Fécamp and "gave them the house of Coggs to build a priory" together with lands and tithes in Oxford, Kent and Wiltshire.⁹⁵ Coggs seems to have lost this land very rapidly, however, and by 1291 it was a very small priory.⁹⁶

Altogether in addition to the twelve alien Cluniac priories founded during Henry I's reign, we have eighteen other priories, of which twelve were dependent upon Norman abbeys (Boucherville, two; Bec, three; Lessay, Fécamp, Conches, Montebourg, Ivry, Cerisy, and Aumale one each) and six on French religious houses outside of Normandy (Tiron, two; Marmoutier, La Sauve Majeure, St. Florent Saumur and St. Lucien, Beauvais one each).

In Stephen's reign foundation gifts were made for nine alien priories. Of these, four were Cluniac, one (St. James near Exeter) being a cell of St. Martin-des-Champs, Paris, and the others cells of English Cluniac priories,—Derby to Bermondsey, Horton to Lewes, Slevesholme to Castleacre. Of the non-Cluniac priories, all five went to Normandy, Bec receiving two (Ogbourne and Wilsford) and St. Pierre-sur-Dives, St. Taurin Evreux and Longueville one each.⁹⁷ In the case of Longueville we again find the founder of a Norman abbey giving to his foundation lands in England on which a subordinate priory was founded. Walter Gifford founded the Norman abbey of St. Faith, Longueville, and to it he granted churches and lands in Buckinghamshire, on which the priory of Newton Longueville was established.⁹⁸

⁹³ Monast. IV, 646 from Cotton MSS Claud. A. VI, fol. 1b. f.

⁹⁴ Monast. III, 462, 472.

⁹⁵ Monast. VI, 1003, Round. Doc. 120.

⁹⁶ Tax. P. N. 31b, 45b.

⁹⁷ For particulars and authorities see Appendix.

⁹⁸ Round. p. 74-7.

Fontevraud was preëminently the abbey of the Angevin kings, and this last resting place of Henry II and Richard I did not go without its share of English lands. In the year 1164 Henry gave to Fontevraud the manor of Leighton or Grove in Bedfordshire. No priory was founded there, however, and it was administered by a proctor or bailiff from Fontevraud.⁹⁹

It is a question whether or not the gift of the house of Amesbury was a result of obligations rising out of the murder of Becket. Henry had promised to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem within three years, but the third year having expired he promised on account of the delay to found three monasteries. It is sometimes held that Henry never lived up to his promise, as at Waltham and Amesbury he simply re-founded old houses. But Henry *did* found three new monasteries: Newstead, Vaubourg, and Witham, and I am inclined to think that the re-founding of Amesbury was never considered to be a part of this obligation. The nuns of Amesbury had been expelled for unchastity, and Henry turned over the house to the abbey of Fontevraud. A prioress and twenty-four nuns were sent over to Amesbury, and Henry built a new building for them.¹⁰⁰

Early in Henry II's reign, Robert, Earl of Leicester, founded a nunnery at Nuneaton in Warwickshire, which he made dependent upon the nuns of Fontevraud.¹⁰¹

Henry II gave land in Bedfordshire and Essex to the alien hospitals of Suntingfeud in Picardy and Montjeux in Savoy. At Hornchurch in Essex, a "hospital" seems to have been established and it also seems probable that another¹⁰² was built on Bedfordshire land, but whether at Farley or Ludgarshall, it is difficult to determine.¹⁰³

Henry II's other gift to a French house was that of the manor of Hagh in Lincolnshire, which he gave to the Augustinian canons of St. Mary de Voto at Cherbourg. St. Mary de Voto had been founded by Henry's mother, Matilda, and at the time of Henry's gift was in a very needy condition. A so-called "cell" was established at Hagh,

⁹⁹ Monast. VI, 1085; Round. Doc. 1064.

¹⁰⁰ Reyneri Apost. Ben. II, 126; Roger Hovedon 320; Monast. II, 333; Gesta Henrici II and Richardi I (R.S.) 165, 354; Giraldus Cambr. (R.S.) VIII, 169-170.

¹⁰¹ Annales Mon. II, 239; Round. Doc. 1062.

¹⁰² These were, of course, "alien priories."

¹⁰³ Chart. R. 13, Edw. III, 56 (Inspex); Chart. R. 26, Hy. III m. 8; Pat. 22, Edw. I, m. 7; Monast. VI, 639, 652; Hundred Rolls (R.C.) I, 37; Tanner-Notitia.

but there was probably never more than two monks there to administer the property for the mother-house.¹⁰⁴

In addition to Fontevrauld two other Angevin houses received gifts of English land during this reign. Matilda had been attached to the abbey of St. Nicholas Angers and had given it lands at Wenge in Buckinghamshire,¹⁰⁵ and the manor of Willoughton in Lincolnshire.¹⁰⁶ During her son's reign it received lands at Minster in Cornwall from a certain "William, son of Nicholas," and a priory was probably established.¹⁰⁷ It was probably in this reign also that the abbey of St. Sergius and Bachus, Angers, received the lands in Cornwall on which the priory of Tywardreath was established.¹⁰⁸

The story of the foundation of Alberbury priory in Shropshire, a dependency of Grammont is told in the semi-legendary narrative entitled "The Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin,"—"Fulk bethought himself that he had greatly mis-served God as by killing men and by other great misdeeds; and for the remission of his sins he founded a priory in honor of our Lady Saint Mary of the order of Grammont, near to Alberburs in the forest on the river of Sauverne; and so it is called the New Abbey. And shortly after died Mahaud de Caus, his wife, and was buried in this priory."¹⁰⁹

In all, the foundation was laid for nineteen alien priories during Henry II's reign. Of these six were Cluniac and made dependent on English houses, Mendham (Suffolk) and Normansburgh (Norfolk) belonging to Castleacre; Dudley (Stafford) to Wenlock; Kersal (Lancaster) to Lenton; Holne (Dorset) to Montacute; and Wangford (Suffolk) to Thetford. Of the other thirteen, seven were dependent upon Norman houses (two to Lire and one each to Bec, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, Cherbourg, Savigny, and Lonlay); four to Angevin houses (Fontevrauld, two, and St. Nicholas, Angers and St. Sergius and Bachus, Angers, one each); and one each to Grammont in the Limousin, and Montjoux in Savoy.¹¹⁰

There are only four alien priories whose dates are later than the reign of Henry II. A number it is true, eight in all, I cannot date closely

¹⁰⁴ Round. Doc. 933, 935; *Chronica. Roberti de Torigneio* (R.S.), Chr. St., Hy. II, Ri. I, IV, 233; *Monast. VI*, 1329.

¹⁰⁵ *Monast. VI*, 1104.

¹⁰⁶ *Monast. VI*, 1056.

¹⁰⁷ *Oliver's Monast.* 64; *Ep. Reg. Exon. Vol. I*, fol. 61.

¹⁰⁸ *Monast. IV*, 654; *Lyson-Magn. Brit. Cornub.* 315.

¹⁰⁹ "Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin" printed with *Chronicle of Coggeshall* (R.S.), 410; see also *Chart. R. 17 Hy. III m. 14* and *Monast VI*, 1031.

¹¹⁰ For particulars relating to above see Appendix.

enough to be justified in placing them in any particular reign, but these were almost certainly earlier than the reign of Richard I. It was probably in Richard's reign that Ivry received Minster Lovell.¹¹¹ In the reign of John two alien priories were founded. In 1202, Alan, Earl of Brittany, gave to the monastery of Beauport in Brittany lands in Lincolnshire, on which the priory of Ravendale was established.¹¹² In John's reign also Johanna, wife of Robert de Turnham, gave lands in Yorkshire on which the priory of Eskdale was built.¹¹³ It is doubtful if any alien priories were created after John lost the Norman and Angevin possessions, but the foundation of the priory of Cresswell in Hereford dependent upon Grammont may have been as late as the reign of Henry III.¹¹⁴ Coincident with the loss of Normandy and Anjou to the English crown the zeal for monastery building was falling off rapidly and in the early years of Henry III's reign the monasteries lost still more by the coming of the friars.

¹¹¹ Abbrev. Placit. 53b.

¹¹² Monast. VI, 1050; Tanner-Notitia.

¹¹³ Monast. VI, 1025-6.

¹¹⁴ See Pat. I, Edw. III, 3; 6; Chart. R. 15, Hy. III, m. 4. Monast. VI, 1035.

CHAPTER II.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE ALIEN PRIORIES

We have seen in the last chapter that the alien priories took their rise under very varied conditions. Sometimes the founder built the priory, settled the foreign monks, and imposed conditions regarding the relationship of the new foundation to the mother-house. In such cases the relationship was liable to be loose, and we shall see that priories so conditioned often came to acquire practical independence. In other cases the founder built the priory or turned over an old monastery without expressing his wishes as to the relationship between the new priory and its abbey. A grant of land was sometimes made with the express purpose that a priory was to be built, but the grantor did not erect the priory, but left that for the foreign monastery, which often did not do so for some years. In other cases, again, probably a majority of the cases, (which fact cannot be definitely established because a number of the original charters are not extant) no intention regarding a priory is stated in the original grant. Churches, tithes, lands are given to a French monastery. These English possessions must be administered. Sometimes a priory is established for that purpose, or for some other reason the sending of a colony of monks to the English lands is deemed expedient; in other cases no priory is established, and the newly acquired possessions are administered by a monk-bailiff or monk-proctor. For instance, we hear of "a monk of St. Martin's (Séez), bailiff of Atherington, administrator of the possessions of the said monastery in England."¹ That means, of course, those possessions which were not administered by the priories of Arundel, Lancaster, Pembroke and Wengale, the English dependencies of Séez. We learn from the Ministers' Accounts² that during the war-period the *direct* holdings of Séez were the appropriate churches of Boothby and Hampton, and the manors of Atherington, Fishbourne and Gates. Hampton, Fishburn and Gates were in Sussex, (as was Atherington) but Boothby was in Lincoln. The "Bailiff of Atherington" then administered lands in more than one county. We hear several times of a "Bailiff of Fécamp," who is sometimes called "Proctor of Fécamp"³ and in a charter of the Abbot of Fécamp, placed by Round between 1189 and 1219,

¹ Pap. P. I, 102.

² Min. Accts. Bundle 1126, No. 2, Bundle 1127, No. 7.

³ Reg. Arch. Peckham III, 808-9, 882-4, 890-1, II, 604-6, 609, 620. Chanc. Misc. Bundle 18, file 1, No. 6.

we hear of "the monk who is bailiff of the abbey of Fécamp in England at Steyning."⁴ Fécamp had a priory at Coggs, but in the Ministers' Accounts we find under Coggs Priory the possessions at Coggs alone and under the Abbot of Fécamp we find the appropriate churches of Sompting, Steyning, Westangenerying, and the manors of Bury, Brede, Ecclesdon and Longenhurst, and Warmington in *Sussex*, the manors of Cheltenham and Slaughter in Gloucester, and "tenements" in London.⁵

Such a bailiff or proctor was often loosely styled "prior," and we have already noticed that the estates they administered were referred to in the patent rolls, close rolls and other documents of the period as "alien priories." The failure to recognize this fact has led to the assumption that religious houses were located in a number of places where, as a matter of fact, there never was a religious community. I have discovered a large number of such errors in the description of religious houses given in Dugdale's *Monasticon* and in the list of religious houses given in Abbot Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*. The mistakes of the editors of the *Monasticon* are due largely to Tanner, who in almost every case where he sees "alien priory of A" in an old document assumes that there must have been a monastic house at A. A favorite formula of his, after reciting a grant of land to a foreign abbey is: "where a priory was built shortly afterwards," without producing any evidence whatever or without any references to sources which would support the conclusion that such an event took place. Dugdale's editors have assumed, for the most part, that there was a priory wherever Tanner said there was a priory. The rector of a church whose advowson was held by a foreign abbey is also often called a "prior" and the church and its lands and tithes an "alien priory." The editors of the *Monasticon* recognized this fact in some cases, as in that of Axmouth,⁶ but in a great many cases, such churches are described as real priories without any comprehension of the actual state of affairs. The editors of the last edition of the *Monasticon* say that they have noted over one hundred and twenty alien priories.⁷ As a matter of fact over one hundred and fifty houses are specifically described as alien priories in this edition. Some of these were not dependent upon abbeys, "in the power of the

⁴ Round. Doc. 150, Cl. 15, Edw. III, 3:5d.

⁵ Ministers' Accts. Bundle 1126, No. 17; Bundle 1127, No. 7; Bundle 1125, Bundle 1126, No. 5.

⁶ Mon. VI, 1047.

⁷ Mon. VI, 985.

king of France" during the war period and with them we are not concerned. What does concern us is that for the following fifty-three of the houses given in the *Monasticon* there is no evidence whatever to show that there was ever a religious house in the place indicated, and in the great majority of these cases we have substantial evidence to the contrary,—Atherington, Beckford, Begare, Blakenham, Bonby, Brimpsfield, Cammeringham, Charlton on Otmoore, Charlton near Uphaven, Cosham, Covenham, Creting St. Mary, Creting St. Olave, Ecclesfield, Everdon, Field Dolling, Grove, Hooe, Horstead, Ickham, Iselham, Lapley, Limbergh, Llangewan, Lire Ocle, Monklane, Newent, Patrickburne, Povington, Rislip, Romney, Rotherfield, St. Cross, Scarborough, Sidmouth, Sompting, Spettisbury, Steyning, Stratfield Saye, Stratton St. Margarets, Throwley, Tooting, Tregony, Tunstall, Uphaven, Warham, or St. Winwilo, Warmington, Weedon Bec, Wells, Wenge, Winterbourne, Withersea or Wythernell and Writtle.⁸ All of these are included in Abbot Gasquet's list of religious houses. And in addition to the above we find the following "houses" in Abbot Gasquet's list, whose non-existence we are with more or less confidence able to vouch for,—Axmouth, Cumbermere, Docking, Ipplepen, Lessingham, Manton, Muckleford, Northile, Plympton, Roncevalle, Thurlow, Witchingham—making (including those given above) sixty-five in all.⁹

We will now investigate the claims of these so-called priories to be classified as religious houses. The case of *Atherington* (Sussex) has already been discussed in part.¹⁰ We have found a bailiff there, a monk of Séez, who administered various estates of Séez located in several counties. In the Chancery Miscellanea there is a return of the bishop of Chichester dated September, 1326, to a writ of the king, which return gives the number of alien religious houses in his diocese and states distinctly that the bailiff of Atherington "has no fellow-monk with him."¹¹ I have found no evidence whatever to indicate the existence of a religious community at Atherington.

In the case of *Axmouth*, which Tanner gives as an alien priory, and which is included in Abbot Gasquet's list, the editors of Dugdale express a doubt. They say "Oliver sees no reason to believe that a priory

⁸ Most of these will be found in Mon. VI, 985ff. but others are scattered throughout the eight volumes.

⁹ A number of these so-called priories are repeated in Abbot Gasquet's list under different names.

¹⁰ See p. 18.

¹¹ Chanc. Misc. Bdle. 18, file I, No. 6.

ever existed at Axmouth. From the Exeter Registers it appears that the custody of Axmouth was constantly in the priory of Loders."¹² There is a particularly clear entry to this effect in the register of Bishop Bromscombe.¹³ In addition to this evidence it should be noted that the Ministers' Accounts show that the manor and church of Axmouth were administered by the priory of Loders during the war and the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV has an entry to the same effect.¹⁴

We frequently hear of "the priory of *Beckford*" (Gloucester), but it is at least extremely doubtful if there was ever a real priory there. We find the following entry in the patent rolls under date 1399, "Confirmation to John C. because he has informed the king and council that the manor of Beckford is not a conventual priory, nor is there anything spiritual pertaining to it, although it has the name of the priory of Beckford."¹⁵ With one exception, we do not find the "prior" of Beckford mentioned in the registers of the Bishops of Worcester. The one reference occurs in the following manner. We have under date October, 1278, the "admission of William called Bony, proctor of the prior and convent of St. Barbara in the diocese of Liseux, to administer the goods of the said prior (St. Barbe) in England and especially at Beckford," and on the next folio a memorandum that the Bishop presented his sequestration to brother William Bony "proctor and prior of Beckford."¹⁶ This looks very much like the common case of a monk-bailiff being styled "prior."

There is no evidence of the existence of an actual priory in Yorkshire called *Begare* dependent upon the priory of Begare in Brittany, and the following entry in the Patent Rolls describing a grant to Queen Joan in 1414, where a number of alien priories are specifically referred to, points rather to estates which have probably been administered by a monk-bailiff,—"*£13, 6s., 8d.*" from the keeping of all lands, rents, tithes, pensions, and possessions of the priory of Begare in England."¹⁷

The Ministers' Accounts show that the manor of *Blakenham* (Monmouth) was administered by the priory of Ogbourne¹⁸ and an entry in the Patent Rolls refers to "the priory or manor of Blakenham some-

¹² Mon. VI, 1047.

¹³ Bromscombe Reg. 42b (p. 23 in Hingeston ed.)

¹⁴ M.A. Bdle. 1125, Tax. P. Nich. 152.

¹⁵ Pat. I, Hy. IV, Pt. 3, m. 12.

¹⁶ Worc. Ep. Reg. Gifford (Worc. H.S.) 505.

¹⁷ Pat. I, Hy. V, 5; 11, 10.

¹⁸ M.A. Bdle. 1126, No. 7.

time parcel of the alien priory of Ogbourne."¹⁹ I have discovered no evidence that there was ever a real priory there.

The following entry in the Patent Rolls defines clearly the status of *Bonby* (Lincoln). Under date 1358 there is a grant to the prior and monks of St. Fromund's in Normandy of "the keeping of the church of Bonby, County of Lincoln, which church they hold as appropriated to them and which the king lately took into his hands among other possessions of alien religious of the power of France."²⁰ In 1341 certain alien priors were summoned to appear before the council, and the list includes the "parson of Bonby." In a similar list in 1347 appears the "farmer of Bonby church."²¹ The Ministers' Accounts give the church of Bonby under the administration of the priory of St. Fromund's.²²

The case of *Brimpsfield* (Gloucester) is not so clear. It is often referred to in the Patent Rolls as an "alien priory," or simply as "priory."²³ A monk of St. Wandrille was on several occasions presented to the Bishop of Worcester as "prior."²⁴ In one case in an Episcopal Register the expression occurs "institution to custody of manor of Brimpsfield" and in the margin is written, "induction to priory of Brimpsfield."²⁵ The Registers of Archbishop Gifford show that he insisted stringently on exercising his rights of jurisdiction over all alien priories in his diocese. Yet there is no mention of Brimpsfield among his visitations.²⁶ The "extent" of possessions of "alien religious" taken in 22 Edward I shows that the church and manor of Brimpsfield held by the "prior" of Fonteneto were of the yearly value of £6, 13s, 4d., which fact precludes the possibility of the existence of a real priory at Brimpsfield at that time.²⁷

The case of *Cammeringham* (Lincoln) is simply that of an absence of any positive evidence as to the existence of a prior. On the other side, we have only the use of that phrase employed in connection with manors where there were no priories, "the manor otherwise called the priory of Cammeringham."²⁸

¹⁹ Pat. 7, Edw. IV, 3:13.

²⁰ Pat. 32, Edw. III, 1:20.

²¹ Cl. 15, Edw. III, 3: 6d.; Cl. 21, Edw. III 1: 6d.

²² Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 2.

²³ Pat. 11, Edw. III, 2: 13; Pat. 23, Edw. III, 3:11; Pat. 3, Ri. II, 2:5 et saepe.

²⁴ Worc. Ep. Reg. Gifford (Worc. Hist. Soc.) 357, 365, 368.

²⁵ Worc. Ep. Reg. Gifford (Worc. Hist. Soc.) 369.

²⁶ Worc. Ep. Reg. Gifford (Worc. Hist. Soc.) Int. LXXXVIII, p. 22, 380, 299, et saepe.

²⁷ Add. MSS 6164.

²⁸ Pat. 18 Ri. II 2:6.

The Ministers' Accounts show that the so-called "alien priory" of *Charlton-upon-Otmoore* (Oxford) consisted merely of lands administered by the priory of Ware.²⁹ The Close Rolls show clearly that the "alien priory" of *Charlton* in Wiltshire was not a real priory. A roll of 16 Edward III orders the delivery to the treasurer of the priory of Wangford, the church of Upchurch, County of Kent, and the manor of Charlton, County Wilts, "which the king has committed . . . for rendering £30 yearly for the *priory* and £40 for the church and *manor*."³⁰ A Patent Roll of 1360 grants to the king's chapel in Windsor Castle, the "*priory*" of Wangford, certain lands belonging to St. Mary's Mortain, and the "*manor*" of Charlton, County Wilts.³¹ The same distinction is made in the proceedings of the Council relative to the lands of alien religious in 1403.³²

Cosham (Wiltshire) was not a priory but simply the advowson and "fruits" of a church held by the abbey of Marmoutiers, Tours. As such it was granted to the prior of Tickford to hold to the use of the king's daughter, Isabel, in 1357 and it is so described in the Queen Joan grant of 1413.³³

Of *Covenham* (Lincoln) we know very little. In 1303 license was granted to the abbot and convent of St. Carleph, Le Mans, to grant in frankalmoin to the abbot of Kirkstead the "*manor*" of Covenham.³⁴ It thus ceased to be alien. Its value was small. There is no evidence to show that there was ever a priory there, and I think it very improbable.

There were two *Cretings* in Suffolk described as alien priories. *Creting St. Mary* belonged to the abbey of Bernay. The manor was granted to Bernay in Henry I's reign or earlier.³⁵ I have found no evidence of the existence of a priory there. The only data on the other side are the facts that late in Henry II's reign, almost a century later than the grant of the manor, it is still a "*manor*" as distinguished from the "*priory*" of Eye,³⁶ and that in 1291 its yearly value was only £10, 18s, 3d.³⁷ It is usually grouped with Everdon as the "alien priory of Creting and

²⁹ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 17.

³⁰ Cl. 16, Edw. III 1:39; see also Cl. 17, Edw. III 2: 8d.

³¹ Pat. 34, Edw. III 1:14.

³² Proc. Priv. Council I, 196, see also Pat. 17, Hy. VI 2: 9, 8.

³³ Pat. 31, Edw. III 3: 14. Pat. 1, Hy. V 5:11, 10. See also Pat. 10, Hy. IV 2:15, 14.

³⁴ Pat. 31, Edw. III m. 18.

³⁵ Round. I, 137.

³⁶ Round. I, 137.

³⁷ Tax. P. Nich. 129. 129b.

Everdon," which phrase occurs repeatedly in the documents of the period. The yearly value of Everdon in 1291 was £6, 7s., 6d.³⁸ It is extremely improbable that there was a priory at either place. In all likelihood one monk administered both manors. *Creting St. Olave* was a manor belonging to the abbey of Grestein. It was administered by the prior of Wilmington as is clearly shown by the Ministers' Accounts and the "extent" of Wilmington priory taken in 1370.³⁹

Cumbermere or *Combermere* was a Cistercian abbey in Cheshire. I have been unable to find any evidence of its alien character. Abbot Gasquet lists it as an alien priory and a "cell to Savigny."

Docking (Norfolk) was clearly not a priory, but a church appropriated to the priory of Minster Lovell. In 1341 a certain John Darcy had "the custody of the priory of Minster Lovell for the administration of all the fruits and issues of the churches of Docking and Esthall."⁴⁰ In 1360 a monk of Ivry was appointed to have the keeping of the priory of Minster Lovell, a cell of that abbey and the administration of the fruits and profits of the churches of Docking and Esthall appropriated to the abbey, in the king's hands among the lands of alien religious on account of the war.⁴¹ The Queen Joan grant of 1413 includes "the church of Docking parcel of the priory of Minster Lovell."⁴²

In the case of *Ecclesfield* there is no evidence of the existence of a religious community. It is often described as an "alien priory" and a "prior of Ecclesfield" is mentioned but the latter may have been simply a monk of St. Wandrille serving the church there. The following in a Patent Roll of 9 Richard II, seems to point in that direction,—a grant to the prior and convent of Coventry of the advowson of Ecclesfield, County York, in the king's hand after being recovered in the late king's reign from the abbot and convent of St. Wandrille in Normandy and license to appropriate the same in mortmain.⁴³

We have already dealt with *Everdon* (Northamptonshire).⁴⁴

Field-Dolling (Norfolk) is usually associated with Long Bennington as the "alien priory of Long Bennington and Field-Dolling."⁴⁵ It is

³⁸ Tax. P. Nich. 54.

³⁹ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 4. Add. MSS 6164. See also Tax. P. Nich. 129b.

⁴⁰ Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:12d.

⁴¹ Pat. 34, Edw. III 2:5.

⁴² Pat. 1, Hy. V 5:11, 10. See also Pat. 30, Edw. III 1:12. Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:37. Cl. 12, Edw. III 1:32. Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III, 1:6d. Pat. 10, Hy. IV 2:15, 14.

⁴³ Pat. 9, Ric. II 2:30.

⁴⁴ See p. 23 above.

⁴⁵ Pat. 22, Ri. II 3, 4. Pat. 2, Hy. IV 3:7.

sometimes referred to as "parcel of the priory of Long Bennington."⁴⁶ In the "Taxatio" of Pope Nicholas IV we are informed that the Abbot of Savigny held certain lands, rents, etc., at Field-Dolling but no mention is made of a priory of Field-Dolling;⁴⁷ nor is there any such mention in the Ministers' Accounts or in the "extent" of the manor made in 1325.⁴⁸ We shall speak of Long Bennington in another place, but the evidence is against the existence of a priory at Field-Dolling.

We hear of a "prior" of *Grove* (Bedfordshire).⁴⁹ But there is no evidence of the existence of a religious house there. It seems rather to have been a manor administered by a monk-bailiff. On various occasions when the alien priories were seized or restored or under consideration by the council, "the proctor of the Abbot of Fontevraud" was required to answer for the possessions of that abbey in Bedfordshire.⁵⁰ In instances where "priories" are referred to *Grove* is described as a "manor."⁵¹

As for *Hooe* in Sussex, both the "Taxatio" of Pope Nicholas IV and the Ministers' Accounts show quite clearly that it was a manor administered by the prior of Ogbourne.⁵²

There is very little to lead us to think of *Horstead* (Norfolk) as a priory. As far as can be discovered it is not given in any of the contemporary lists of alien priories. The Taxatio informs us that the abbots of Caen held temporalities in *Horstead* to the yearly value of £20, 10s., 6½d., and the church of *Horstead* was valued at £3, 13s., 4d. In the Patent Roll of 1412 there is a grant to Thomas Erpingham of the "priory" of Tofts, the "manors" of Warmington, Spettisbury, Aston, the "manor" of Witchingham, parcel of the priory of St. Faith, *Horsham*, and "the manor of *Horstead*" Co., Norfolk, parcel of the house or priory of Caen in Normandy.⁵³ In 1462 the "manor or priory of *Horstead*" was granted to King's College, Cambridge.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Pat. 9, Hy. V 2:19.

⁴⁷ Tax. P. N. 111.

⁴⁸ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 8 Add. MSS 6164.

⁴⁹ Tax. P. N. 49. Pap. L. I 300.

⁵⁰ Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:37. Cl. 12, Edw. III 1:20. Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d.

⁵¹ Proc. P. C. I, 199. Pat. I Hy. V 3:43.

⁵² Tax. P. N. 140b. Min. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 7.

⁵³ Pat. 2, Edw. IV 2:16. For these manors, on none of which a priory existed, see below.

⁵⁴ Pat. I, Edw. IV 3:23.

Ipplepen (Devon) is sometimes called an "alien priory."⁵⁵ As a matter of fact it was simply the right of presentation to the church of Ipplepen which had been granted to the Abbot of St. Peter, Fougères, Brittany,⁵⁶ and there is no evidence to show the existence of a priory there at a later date.

Concerning *Ickham* (Lincoln) very little can be discovered, but the small value indicated in the following entry in the Patent Rolls precludes the possibility of there having been a priory there, in the fifteenth century at least:—"the alien priory, manor, or lordship in Ickham, not exceeding 100s. yearly."⁵⁷ A summons to appear before the king addressed to a number of alien priors in 1347 includes "the farmer of the manor of Ickham."⁵⁸

Iselham (Cambridge) was clearly a manor administered by the priory of Linton. It is so described both in the Ministers' Accounts and in the "extent" taken in 1370.⁵⁹ "The priory of Linton and Iselham" is a common expression.⁶⁰

Lapley (Staffordshire) is described in a patent roll as "the manor or grange of Lapley commonly called the alien priory of Lapley."⁶¹

Lessingham (Norfolk) was "parcel" of the priory of Ogbourne⁶² and the king gave as his right of presentation to the church of Lessingham the fact that the priory of Ogbourne was in his hands during the war.⁶³

It seems evident that the manor of *Limbergh* (Lincoln) was administered by a monk sent over by the abbey of Aunay as its bailiff or proctor. On a number of occasions when alien priors were summoned the "possessions of the Abbot of Aunay" in the County of Lincoln are answered for by "the proctor of the Abbot of Aunay"⁶⁴ who also presented to the vicarage of Limbergh.⁶⁵

Similarly *Llangewan* (Monmouth) was a small manor held by the abbey of Lire. The "extent" taken in 3 Richard II shows that Lire

⁵⁵ E.g., Pat. 35, Edw. III 1:15.

⁵⁶ MSS Dodsworth (Bodleian) 120, fol. 6.

⁵⁷ Pat. 2, Edw. IV 2:16.

⁵⁸ Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d.

⁵⁹ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125, No. 1. Add. MSS 6164.

⁶⁰ Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:33. Cl. 19, Edw. III 1:19. Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d., et saepe.

⁶¹ Pat. 1, Hy. V 5:11, 10.

⁶² Pat. 1, Edw. IV 3:23.

⁶³ Pat. 20, Ri. II 1:19.

⁶⁴ Proc. P. C. I, 193. Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d. Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d. See also Add. MSS 6164.

⁶⁵ Rotuli Grossteste 124.

held lands at Llangewan valued at £2, 14s., 11d., a year.⁶⁶ It is given in a list of smaller holdings, all of which are in the county of Hereford or Monmouth, and are said to be held by the "proctor of the abbey of Lire." This is the proctor already referred to in speaking of Lire Ocle in the first chapter.⁶⁷ He answered to the king for the possessions of Lire in Hereford on various occasions when the alien priories were concerned.⁶⁸ He was, however, described otherwise at times, e. g., as "the prior or keeper of the manor or priory of Llangewan."⁶⁹ Thus a small holding worth scarcely more than two pounds a year and which with a number of other small holdings is administered by a common bailiff comes to be styled a "priory" (because involved with the "alien priories" problem) and in time slips into the lists of *religious houses* compiled by modern historians.

The same may be said of Lire Ocle, to which reference has been made above, but which, however, was a somewhat larger manor, being valued in the "extent" of 3 Richard II at £38 a year.⁷⁰

Abbot Gasquet also includes *Manton* (Rutland) in his "List of English Religious Houses." The manor of Manton (Rutland) was granted to the abbey of Cluny by Henry I.⁷¹ It is mentioned in a number of documents given in Duckett's collection, but always as a *manor* and never with any indication of there being a priory there.⁷²

In a memorandum of Cluniac holdings in England a number of priories are described and Manton is simply referred to as a manor.⁷³ In another description of Cluniac holdings, probably from a visitation report, the condition of affairs in each of the English Cluniac priories is described and then four "manors" are simply mentioned as being "de mensa abbatis Cluniacensis," one of these being the manor of Manton.⁷⁴ A petition of the abbot and convent of Cluny addressed to Henry IV refers in one sentence to the Cluniac "priories" in England and in the next to these same four "manors," including the manor of Manton.⁷⁵ This document alone seems to leave no doubt of the non-

⁶⁶ Add. MSS 6164.

⁶⁷ See p. 5 above. Hereford Ep. Reg. Swinfield, p. 357.

⁶⁸ See Close 15, Edw. III 3: 6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III 1: 6d.

⁶⁹ Chart. R. 54 Hy. III m. 3.

⁷⁰ Add. MSS 6164. For Lire Ocle see above, p. 5.

⁷¹ Ch. Rec. Cl. I, 67.

⁷² Ch. Rec. Cl. I, 127, 129, 139, 143, 151, 155, 158, 162, 182, 191, 193, 195, 196, 212, 220, 223, 244, 246, II, 3, 8, 9, 11, 74, 78, 100, 214.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 182.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 208-214.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 191.

existence of a religious community at Manton. In 1410 the prior of Lewes was given authority to look after these manors for the abbot of Cluny.⁷⁶ In a table of Cluniac holdings in England, dating probably from the fifteenth century, the priories (each designated "prioratus") are given in the main body of the plan, and in the upper right-hand corner is written:—"Monasterium Cluniacense habet in regno Anglie quatuor domos, dominia seu possessiones, que apud illos dicuntur maneria, in omnimoda juriditione, directo dominio et proprietate, videlicet;

Primum, manerium de Ledecomba Regis . . .

Secundum, manerium de Offord Cluny . . .

Tertium, manerium de Thikesora.

Quartum *Manerium de Mantonna* in eoden comitatu Rotelande."⁷⁷

Monklane (Hereford) was not a priory during the war period and it is improbable that there was ever a priory there. We never hear of it except as a manor belonging to the abbey of Conches, and administered during the war period, at least, by the prior of Wotton. The Ministers' Accounts show that the manor and church of Monklane were administered by the priory of Wotton.⁷⁸ In 1399 we have a patent roll giving a grant to Coventry of a number of priories, including "Wotton with Monkelane Co. Hereford."⁷⁹ In the Patent Rolls of 5-8 Henry V, we have a grant of "the priory of Wotton Cos. Warwick and Worcester and the *manors* of Munkelane Co. Hereford. . . ."⁸⁰ In a patent roll of the year 1422 there is a note of a grant surrendered "so far as pertains to the *priory* of Wotton . . . and all else specified in the said letters save the *manor* of Munkelane in Hereford."⁸¹

The case of *Muckleford* (Dorset) is an obscure one. Abbot Gasquet gives it in his list of religious houses. Tanner expresses a doubt that it ever had a separate existence,—apart from the priory of Andwell.⁸² Dugdale simply quoted Tanner's opinion.⁸³ I have not been able to find in the records any mention of an alien priory at Muckleford. In the war period there does not seem to have been even a manor at Muckle-

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 212.

⁷⁷ Bibl. Nationale "Collection de Bourgoyne" Vol. LXXXIII, No. 433, given in Duckett I, 196.

⁷⁸ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125.

⁷⁹ Pat. 22, Rich. II, 3: 4.

⁸⁰ Pat. 5-8, Hy. V, m. 3.

⁸¹ Pat. 20, Hy. VI, 3:4.

⁸² Tanner-Notitia.

⁸³ Mon. VI, 1056. See also Arch. Journ. IX, 250.

ford belonging to the priory of Andwell. It is not mentioned in the Ministers' Accounts among the possessions of Andwell priory or among those of Andwell's mother-house, Tiron. It is not mentioned in the instructions regarding possessions of "alien religious" addressed to the sheriff of Dorset in 1341 and 1347.⁸⁴

The status of the so-called "prior" of *Newent* has been shown quite clearly in the first chapter. He was the "monk-bailiff" mentioned in the quotation there given from the register of Bishop Swinfield.⁸⁵ In connection with Newent we have the use of the phrase often repeated in the Patent Rolls,—“The manor of Newent called the priory of Newent.”⁸⁶

In 1404 the parish church of *Northile*, or Northhill (Bedford) was converted into a college.⁸⁷ There is no reason whatever for thinking it had any alien connection or that there was ever a priory there.

I have not found any evidence for the existence of a priory at *Patricksburne* (Kent). On the other hand, a patent roll of Henry V, in which a number of "priors" are mentioned speaks of "the manor of Patricksburne."⁸⁸ When the holders of alien priories were summoned before the council in 1413 after the list of "priors" and "priors" and "occupators," there were added a number of other names, including "Richard Aldrich occupator of the *manor* of Patricksburne."⁸⁹ The fact that in 1341 the proctor of Beaulieu answered to the king for the holdings of that alien abbey in Kent leads to the conclusion that at that time there was no prior at Patricksburne.⁹⁰ There may have been a priory there at an earlier date, but I have found no record of it.

The priory of *Plympton* (Devon) was a priory of Augustine Canons, a native house.⁹¹ I have been able to find no evidence of its dependence at any time on a foreign abbey.

During the wars with France at least *Povington* (Dorset) seems to have been simply a manor administered by the priory of Ogbourne. It is so described in the Ministers' Accounts, under date 18 Edward II⁹² and in the "extent" of alien priories taken in 10 Richard II.⁹³

⁸⁴ See Cl. 15, Edw. III, 3: 6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III, 1:6d.

⁸⁵ See p. 5 above.

⁸⁶ Pat. 5, Ri. II, 2:9. For "priory of Newent" see Pat. 34, Edw. III 1:18, 17, et saepe.

⁸⁷ Pat. 6, Hy. IV 1:16.

⁸⁸ Pat. 1, Hy. V 5:11, 10.

⁸⁹ Proc. Privy Council I, 196.

⁹⁰ Cl. 15, Edw. III 3: 6d.

⁹¹ See Mon. VI, 51 and f.

⁹² Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125.

⁹³ Add. MSS 6164.

I have found no record of a priory at *Rislip* (Middlesex).⁹⁴ We hear of a "prior" there in the thirteenth century,⁹⁵ but he may have been no more than a bailiff, as has been already shown. At any rate the manor passed under the administration of the prior of Ogbourne before the outbreak of the French wars. The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas shows that it was held by that prior.⁹⁶ The Ministers' Accounts, under date 18 Edward II, tell the same story.⁹⁷

It seems fairly clear that there was never a priory at *Romney* (Kent). As early as 1282 presentation was made to the church at Romney by the proctor of the abbot of Pontigny.⁹⁸ In a patent roll of 1357 mention is made of certain sums paid by various priors and then,—"nine pounds which the farmers of the church of Romney pay."⁹⁹ In 1341 summons are sent to a number of alien priors specifically so called, and also to "the farmer of the church of Romney."¹⁰⁰ The same thing occurred in 1347.¹⁰¹ A patent roll of 1361 made restitution to the abbot of Pontigny of the church of Romney which he held appropriated.¹⁰² In the Queen Joan grant of 1409, after mentioning a large number of "priors," we hear of "25 marks from the administration of all the fruits of the church of Romney."¹⁰³ From all of which it is clear that Romney was simply a church appropriated to the abbot of Pontigny, in spite of the fact that it is sometimes loosely described as an "alien priory."¹⁰⁴

Roncevalle (Middlesex) was an alien hospital near Charing Cross dependent upon the priory of Roncevalle in Navarre.¹⁰⁵ It is not included, however, in any of the lists of alien priories found in the sources. The obvious reason is that its mother-house was not in "the power of the king of France." For the same reason the king did not interfere with the yearly contribution which it made to its mother-house.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁴ See p. 4 above.

⁹⁵ Tax. Norwich, 1225. Cl. 4, Hy. III m.15. New court 1: 638. Pat. 11, Hy. III m. 2d. Pat. 13, Hy. III m. 8d. Pat. 18, Hy. III m. 15.

⁹⁶ Tax. P. Nich. 14.

⁹⁷ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 5.

⁹⁸ Reg. Peckham III, 1018.

⁹⁹ Pat. 31, Edw. III 1:21, see also Pat. 34, Edw. III 1:35.

¹⁰⁰ Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d.

¹⁰¹ Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d.

¹⁰² Pat. 35, Edw. III 1:19.

¹⁰³ Pat. 10, Hy. IV 2: 15, 14.

¹⁰⁴ As in Pat. 1, Hy. V 5: 11, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Tanner-Notitia. Pat. 11, Hy. VI 1:16.

¹⁰⁶ Pat. 11, Hy. VI 1:16.

Nor does *Rotherfield* (Sussex) appear as an alien priory during the war period. The manor of Rotherfield was granted to the abbey of St. Denis as early as 792.¹⁰⁷ It is very improbable that there was ever a religious house there, and it was probably alienated by the foreign abbey long before our period, but at what date we do not know.

There may have been at one time a real priory at *St. Cross* (Hampshire) but in the year 1359 there was only one monk there—styled “prior”—¹⁰⁸ and I do not feel justified in including it in my list.

Scarborough (York) seems to have been not a priory, but a church appropriated to the abbey of Cîteaux. The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV shows this abbot holding a church and land at Scarborough.¹⁰⁹ When in 1337 the alien “priories” were specifically summoned to pay certain fines and farms to the king the summons refers to “the keeper of the church of Scarborough.”¹¹⁰ The same designation occurs in lists of priors given in the years 1341 and 1347.¹¹¹ In another similar list of 1341 we hear of “the proctor of the church of Scarborough.”¹¹² In an “extent” of alien priories taken in 3 Richard II, there is no mention of a priory at Scarborough, but we are informed that the abbey of Cîteaux held the church and two chapels there.¹¹³ In a patent roll of 1397 we hear of “the alien priory or parsonage of St. Mary, Scarborough.”¹¹⁴

Dugdale’s editors and Gasquet have followed Tanner in listing *Sidmouth* (Devon) as an alien priory. It is clearly, however, simply a manor administered by the priory of Otterton. The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV and the Ministers’ Accounts both describe this manor as belonging to the prior of Otterton.¹¹⁵

There seems to be no available evidence of the existence of a priory at *Sompting* (Sussex). The Ministers’ Accounts give Sompting as a manor held by the abbot of Fécamp, and the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV gives it in a list of manors belonging to that abbot.¹¹⁶

The non-existence of a priory at *Spettisbury* (Dorset) is equally clear. Here again is simply a manor administered by an alien priory,

¹⁰⁷ Mon. VI 1077.

¹⁰⁸ Pat. 33, Edw. III 1:11. Pat. 33, Edw. III 2:22.

¹⁰⁹ Tax. P. Nich. 304, 305b.

¹¹⁰ Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:37.

¹¹¹ Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d.

¹¹² Cl. 15, Edw. III 2:37d.

¹¹³ Add. MSS 6164.

¹¹⁴ Pat. 20, Rich. II 3:14.

¹¹⁵ Tax. P. Nich. 151b. Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125.

¹¹⁶ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 7. Tax. P. Nich. 138b.

this time the priory of Toft. The Ministers' Accounts describe it as being so administered.¹¹⁷ In 1327 the prior of Toft presented to Spettisbury church.¹¹⁸ A close roll of 1343 shows that the benefice of Spettisbury church belonged to the king's donation by reason of the priory of Toft being in the king's hands.¹¹⁹ In a patent roll of 1413 we have a grant of "the manors of Warmington, Spettisbury, and Aston, and all other possessions in the counties of Warwick, Dorset, Berks and Leicester pertaining to the priory of Toft."¹²⁰

Steyning (Sussex) was a manor belonging to the abbey of Fécamp. It is given in Pope Nicholas' Taxatio in a list of manors held by that abbey, which is also credited with the church of Steyning.¹²¹ The Ministers' Accounts tell the same story.¹²² We have already referred to the mention of a "monk-bailiff," who administered this manor, in a document dating from about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and in several other records.¹²³

The evidence in regard to *Stratfield-Saye* (Berkshire) is not very clear. There is nothing to show definitely the existence of a real priory there. On the other hand, in 1359, there was only a "prior" there,¹²⁴ who at other times is referred to as the proctor of Vallement holding lands at Stratfield-Saye belonging to that foreign house.¹²⁵ The small yearly value of these lands, £7, 4s., 4d., in 1295—¹²⁶ seems to preclude the possibility of the existence of a priory there.

The "alien priory" of *Stratton St. Margarets* (Wiltshire) given both in the Dugdale list of alien priories and in Abbot Gasquet's list of "Religious Houses in England" was a pension of 6s., 8d., which the foreign abbot of Tyron received from the church of Stratton St. Margarets. Both the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV and the Ministers' Accounts show this quite clearly,¹²⁷ as does also the "extent" of the possessions of alien religious taken in 1295.¹²⁸

¹¹⁷ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125.

¹¹⁸ Cl. I Edw. III 1:19.

¹¹⁹ Cl. 17 Edw. III 2:27d.

¹²⁰ Pat. I Hy. V 3:20.

¹²¹ Tax. P. Nich. 138b, 134.

¹²² Min. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 7.

¹²³ P. 18 above.

¹²⁴ Pat. 33, Edw. III 2:18.

¹²⁵ Cl. 20, Edw. III 2:10.

¹²⁶ Add. MSS 6164.

¹²⁷ Tax. P. Nich. 190, Min. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 12.

¹²⁸ Add. MSS 6164.

We hear frequently in the records of a "prior of *Throwley*" (Kent).¹²⁹ The nature of his office in the early days at least is shown by the testimony of Thomas à Becket, who spoke of meeting on a visit to the abbey of St. Omer a monk "who was accustomed to live at Chilham and Throwley."¹³⁰ Quite evidently this monk was St. Omer's bailiff or proctor on these estates, whence he came to be called the alien "prior" of Throwley. In two statements of a grant to Queen Joan, in both of which a long list of priories are specifically so designated, we have "the *manor* of Throwley."¹³¹ When in 1403 a number of "priories" were summoned to give account to the council, at the end of the list stand a number which are not designated "priory," among which are "the manors of Thrulegh, Molassche and Chilham,"¹³² all of which belonged to the abbey of St. Omer.

Thurlow (Norfolk) seems to have been a small chapel belonging to the hospital of Hautpays. As its yearly value was only three pounds there could have been no priory there.¹³³

Abbot Gasquet gives in his list *Thwaite* (Buckinghamshire). In this he follows Tanner, who, however, gives no reference, save a record of the suppression of a "cell" there in the reign of Henry VIII, which tells us nothing regarding its supposed alien character. All that I can say is that I have found no reference to it. It does not occur as an alien priory in any of the records I have examined.

Tooting Bec (Surrey) was a manor held by the abbot of Bec and there is no reason to believe that there was ever a priory there. In Henry III's reign we hear of "lands of the abbot of Bec at Tooting."¹³⁴ In 1291 Bec's holdings there amounted to only four pounds, precluding the possibility of a priory. They were administered by the prior of Ogbourne.¹³⁵ According to an inquisition taken in 1315 the prior of Ogbourne held the manor of Tooting. The Ministers' Accounts tell the same story.¹³⁶

Dugdale's editors following Tanner, claim the existence of a priory at *Tregony* (Cornwall), but give no evidence that need carry further than the advowson of a church there held by the Norman abbey of Vallemont.

¹²⁹ As in Cl. 22, Edw. III 1:23. Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d.

¹³⁰ Epistola LV, Materials for Hist. of Archb. Thom. Becket (R.S.) V, 96.

¹³¹ Pat. 10, Hy. IV 2:15, 14. Pat. 1, Hy. V 5:11, 10.

¹³² Proc. Priv. Council I, 196.

¹³³ Pat. 22, Ri. II 2:33. Pat. 2, Edw. IV 2:16.

¹³⁴ Cl. 12, Hy. III m. 5, d.

¹³⁵ Tax. P. Nich. 207b.

¹³⁶ Inq. p. m. 8, Edw. III No. 68, Minn. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 6.

In any case it was made over to the prior and convent of Merton in 1267,¹³⁷ and so never came into the alien priory problem, which really began with the French wars of Edward I.

I have found nothing in the sources to show the existence of an alien priory of *Tunstall* (Devon). There was a church at Tunstall in Devonshire, but Pope Nicholas IV's *Taxatio* shows that it had no foreign connection at that time¹³⁸ and it is not found in any of the accounts of the possessions of alien religious in England.

The so-called "alien priory" of *Uphaven* (Wilts) consisted of the church of Uphaven and the chapel of Charlton, and was possessed by the foreign abbey of St. Wandrille as a prebend in the cathedral church of Salisbury.¹³⁹ The interests of the mother-house were represented by a monk who was usually styled "proctor of the abbot of St. Wandrille."¹⁴⁰

I have been able to find no record of the existence of a priory at Wareham or St. Winwaloe (Norfolk). There has been much confusion between this supposed priory and the real one at Wareham (Dorset). Lands at Wareham (Norfolk) were granted to the alien abbey of Montreuil by the Earl of Clare in the reign of Richard II.¹⁴¹ According to Tanner they were sold by the abbey in 1321 to Elizabeth de Burgh.¹⁴²

Warmington (Warwick) was simply a manor belonging to the alien priory of Tofts. It is so described by the Ministers' Accounts, by the "extents" taken 3 Richard II and 10 Richard II, and several times in the Patent Rolls.¹⁴³

Similarly *Wedon Bec* (Northampton) was a manor belonging to the priory of Ogbourne. It is distinctly described as "parcel of the priory of Ogbourne" in the patent rolls and assigned to that priory in the Ministers' Accounts and in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas.¹⁴⁴

Wells (Norfolk) is usually associated with Panfield as "the alien priory of Panfield and Wells."¹⁴⁵ There was certainly a real priory at

¹³⁷ Mon. VI 1045. Tanner-Notitia.

¹³⁸ Tax. P. Nich. 149, 150.

¹³⁹ Pat. 1, Hy. IV 4:21, 19. Tax. P. Nich. 182, 194.

¹⁴⁰ As in Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d. Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:37. Cl. 12, Edw. III 1:20.

¹⁴¹ Mon. VI 1051.

¹⁴² Tanner-Notitia.

¹⁴³ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 9. Add. MSS 6164. Pat. 1, Hy. V 3:20. Pat. 1, Hy. VI 4:15.

¹⁴⁴ Pat. 22, Hy. VI 1:33. Pat. 23, Hy. VI 2:9. Min. Accts. 1126, No. 3. Tax. P. Nich. 54.

¹⁴⁵ As in Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:30. Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:14. Tax. P. Nich. 80, 96, 96b.

Panfield in Essex, a monk from which probably administered the lands in Norfolk. The Ministers' Accounts describe the manor of Wells as belonging to the priory at Panfield.¹⁴⁶

We have no clear evidence of the existence of a priory at *Wenge* (Buckinghamshire) dependent on the abbey of St. Nicholas, Angers (which held the church and manor).¹⁴⁷ On the other hand we hear of a farm being paid by the "proctor of the abbot of St. Nicholas, Angers," for lands in the county of Buckingham.¹⁴⁸ In 1401 inquiry was made regarding the possessions of "alien religious," in which in most cases the "priory" is specified. In this case, however, instead of "the priory of Wenge" we have "the possessions of the abbey of St. Angers in Wenge."¹⁴⁹

Willoughton (Lincoln) was another manor belonging to St. Nicholas Angers. In two grants to Queen Joan it is described as a "manor," where a number of alien priories are each designated "priory."¹⁵⁰ The Ministers' Accounts and the "extents" mention only a manor belonging to St. Nicholas, Angers,¹⁵¹ and there is no evidence to show the existence of a priory at Willoughton.

In speaking of *Winterborne* (Dorset) one must be careful to distinguish between Winterborne Strickland, which was a manor belonging to the foreign chapter of Coutances¹⁵² and Winterborne Wast. It is this latter which is frequently understood to be a priory, although data are often assigned to it which should be assigned to the former. The mistake is due partly to the fact that both these manors belonged to foreign abbeys, and partly to the fact that the "prior and convent of Wast," frequently referred to in the records, is assumed to be an English prior and priory, whereas it was the priory "De Vasto" in France, which is intended. Winterborne Wast was simply a manor belonging to that foreign Cluniac house.¹⁵³ An English Cluniac priory of Wast does not appear in any of the contemporary lists of Cluniac houses given by Duckett and I have found no evidence to show that one existed. In a patent roll of 1348 the abbot of Cluny is described as the direct superior of the prior of Wast, who was made a grant of "a messuage, lands and

¹⁴⁶ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 8.

¹⁴⁷ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125.

¹⁴⁸ Pat. 32, Edw. III 1:14.

¹⁴⁹ Proc. Priv. Council 1, 194.

¹⁵⁰ Pat. 10, Hy. IV 2:15, 14. Pat. 1, Hy. V 5:11, 10.

¹⁵¹ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 2, Add. MSS 6164.

¹⁵² Tax. P. Nich. 178b., 184b. Minn. Accts. Bdle. 1125.

¹⁵³ Victoria History of Dorset has stated the same conclusion.

rents in Winterborne, Bokhampton and Swavewych, County Dorset," and who is evidently the head of the French house of that name.¹⁵⁴

Witchingham (Norfolk) is given as an alien priory in Abbot Gasquet's list. The Ministers' Accounts show that the prior of Newton Longueville administered the church and manor of "Great Witchingham."¹⁵⁵ The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV shows that the "prior of Longueville" held a portion of the church and certain rents at Witchingham, St. Faith, and rents at Witchingham, St. Mary's, to the total value of £17, 5s., 8d.¹⁵⁶ The "prior of Longueville" here may be the prior of Newton Longueville in Buckinghamshire, or his superior, the prior of Longueville in Normandy. In the former case there could have been no priory at Witchingham; in the latter case it would be very improbable. That the English prior of Newton Longueville administered these lands seems assured by the reference to the Ministers' Accounts given above and the fact that when in 1341 and 1347 the alien priors were summoned, the prior of Newton Longueville, whose priory was in Buckinghamshire, answered for possessions in the County of Norfolk, while no mention is made of a prior of Witchingham.¹⁵⁷ Nor is there mention of such a prior anywhere in the records.

There is no evidence to show the existence of a priory at *Withersea* or *Witherness* (York). The Ministers' Accounts and the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas both show that lands at Withersea were held by the neighboring alien priory of Birstall.¹⁵⁸

Writtle (Essex) was a church the fruits of which were enjoyed by the hospital of the Holy Ghost in the church of St. Mary in Saxia in Rome.¹⁵⁹ We hear occasionally of a prior of Writtle¹⁶⁰ but he was simply a priest whom the foreign hospital presented to this church.¹⁶¹ It does not come within the scope of our subject in any case because the hospital in Rome was not "in the power of the king of France," and we never hear of the church of Writtle being seized during the wars, although in 1347 the so-called "prior" of Writtle was summoned to appear before the king along with the alien priors.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁴ Pat. 22, Edw. III 2:40. See also Pat. 13, Edw. II m. 12.

¹⁵⁵ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 8.

¹⁵⁶ Tax. P. Nich. 82, 94b., 95.

¹⁵⁷ Cl. 15, Edw. III 3:6d. Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d.

¹⁵⁸ Min. Accts. Bdle. 1127, No. 14. Tax. P. Nich. 304b.

¹⁵⁹ Chart. R. 5, John m. 9.

¹⁶⁰ As in Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d.

¹⁶¹ Pap. L. I 217.

¹⁶² Cl. 21, Edw. III 1:6d.

This closes the list, and we are now free to proceed to a further classification of the alien priories.

An important distinction is to be made between conventual and dative priories. This always represented a marked difference in the relation of a priory to its mother-house, and during the wars with France it played a considerable part in the treatment of a priory by the crown, the conventual priors always being more leniently dealt with. In general a conventual priory was one which enjoyed all the constituent parts of a convent, "the essence of the monastic régime," as M. Vollet expresses it,—¹⁶⁸ including a cloister, refectory, common dormitory, etc., and the full observation of the rule followed by the order of which the house belonged. We are more concerned, however, with the legal rights which accompanied conventuality. The conventual priories possessed a common seal, could hold property in their own right, and enter into legal agreements. They managed their own revenues, but acknowledged their dependence on the mother-abbey by sending her a fixed sum or "apport" each year. In many cases they chose their own prior, which nomination, however, was confirmed by the abbot of the mother-house, who presented the candidate to the bishop for induction. A conventual prior could not be deposed by the abbot. He was termed a "perpetual" prior.

The non-conventual or "dative" priories, on the other hand, could not hold property in their own right and no agreements into which which their priors entered were valid unless the consent of the abbot of the mother-house had been secured. They possessed no common seal. The prior's seal alone was used. In fact these "dative" priories had no corporate existence and enjoyed no corporate rights. They had no "convent" and their priors were practically officers of the mother house, exercising their rights as rights inherent in the mother-house, and in all cases dependent upon the "abbot and convent" of that house. These dative priors were appointed by the abbot and removed by him at will. The abbey had complete control of the revenues and the prior was simply its administrative officer. As the mother-houses of our alien priories were always foreign abbeys, it can readily be seen how this distinction between "conventual" and "dative" priories would run like a water-shed through the whole history of alien priories.

The citation of a few specific cases may be of value in supporting and illustrating the positions taken in the above paragraph. In 1413 the alien priory of Deerhurst asked for a grant of denization. In the patent

¹⁶⁸ Article on "Conventualité" in *Grand Enc.* by E. H. Vollet.

roll which gave them their grant we have a description of the foundation of the priory and then the following,—“And thenceforth has been a cell of that abbey (St. Denis) and a *perpetual* and conventual priory, and the prior and convent thereof and their predecessors have had a cloister, dormitory, refectory, and common seal and other things necessary and convenient to such a priory and now have.” We also learn that the abbot of St. Denis had in each voidance presented a monk of that abbey as prior and from the way in which the statement is made one is inclined to think that the monks of Deerhurst had no voice in the matter.¹⁶⁴

About the same time the alien priory of Cowick is described as having been from time immemorial perpetual and having had a convent and a common seal.¹⁶⁵

Several of the pleadings to be found in the year books are instructive in this respect. In 1344 the alien prior of Barnstaple was involved in a case in which it was to be decided whether a free tenement could be vested in him and the question turned on whether or not he was a conventual prior. It was claimed against him that “said prior was appointed by the abbot of the said abbey and was removable at the will of said abbot, and since the said abbot had not shown that he was a perpetual prior nor that he was elected by the convent nor that he had a common seal nor that he enjoyed any of those things that go to constitute a perpetual prior, therefore, no free tenement could vest in the person of this prior.” A verdict, however, was given that “said prior was perpetual prior of the said priory, elected by his convent, and not appointed by the abbot of the said abbey, nor was he removable at the will of that abbot.”¹⁶⁶

In 1341 the prior of Hayling replied to a charge of contempt for not obeying the king’s writ to admit to a carody in his priory by asserting that the writ did not lie against him. “He is a dative prior and removable at the will of the said abbot whose proctor he is, nor has he any convent or common seal at Hayling and he cannot plead or be impleaded without the said abbot.” The crown argued,—(1) that William the Conqueror had founded Hayling “*per nomen prioratus*,” (2) that the said prior had been instituted by the Bishop of Winchester as a perpetual prior, (3) that the said prior had held certain spiritualities and temporalities before the king siezed them. In reply to this the prior endeavored to prove,—(1) that William the Conqueror had *not*

¹⁶⁴ Pat. 21, Hy. VI, 2:37.

¹⁶⁵ Pat. 18, Hy. VI, 2:21.

¹⁶⁶ Yr. Book 18. Edw. III, Easter Term, No. 26.

founded Hayling "per nomen prioratus"; (2) that neither he nor any of his predecessors was ever instituted by the Bishop of Winchester; (3) that he held such spiritualities and temporalities simply as the proctor of his abbot. The prior was found to be right in these contentions and judgement was given in his favor.¹⁶⁷

In my classification of "conventual" and "dative" priories, I have found it best to rely principally on the following criteria,—record of proof of conventuality before king, courts or other constitutive authority; possession of a common seal; payment of a fixed apport to a foreign house; authoritative statement in patent or close rolls, papal letters, episcopal registers, etc., that the priory is conventual or the prior perpetual.

The records show the following priories to have proved their conventuality to the satisfaction of king council, or courts;—Abergavenny, Barnstaple, Blyth, Deerhurst, Monmouth, Northampton, St. Neots, Totnes, Tywardreath, Holy Trinity York.¹⁶⁸ The prior of Hayling, on the other hand, as we have just seen, succeeded in proving that he was a dative prior.¹⁶⁹

The following alien priories are shown to have possessed common seals;—Abergavenny, Bermondsey, Bromholm, Castleacre, Cowick, Deerhurst, Eye, Farleigh, Horsham, Lenton, Lewes, Northampton, Prittlewell, St. Neots, Thetford, Tickford, Wenlock, Holy Trinity York.¹⁷⁰

We have record of the following priories paying a fixed "apport" to their mother-house;—Abergavenny, Andover, Boxgrove, Bermondsey, Blyth, Folkstone, Goldcliff, Horsham, Lancaster, Lewes, Monmouth, Montacute, Northampton, St. Neot's, Spalding, Thetford, Tickford, Totnes, Wenlock, Holy Trinity York.¹⁷¹ This "apport" was always

¹⁶⁷ Yr. Book, 15, Edw. III, Michaelmas No. 7.

¹⁶⁸ Pat. 2, Hy. VI, 3:24. Yr. Book 18, Edw. III, Easter Term, No. 26. Proc. Priv. Council I, 190, f. Pat. 21, Hy. VI, 2:37. Pat. 10, Hy. VI, 2:23. Pat. 4, Hy. V, m. 33.

¹⁶⁹ Yr. Book 15, Edw. III, Michaelmas, No. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Pat. 2, Hy. VI, 3:24. B. M. Seals 2634, 2884, 3140, 3146, 3292, 3294, 3295, 3456, 3463, 3858, 3859, 3958, 4157, 4225, 4290. Paston Letters VII, 30. Pat. 18, Hy. VI, 2:21. Pat. 21, Hy. VI, 2:27. Cl. 13, Edw. III, 3:23d.

¹⁷¹ Pat. 2, Hy. VI, 3:24. Pat. 10, Hy. IV, 2:15, 14. Cotton MSS Claud. A, fol. 16. Yr. Book 15, Edw. III, Hilary, No. 36. Harl. MSS 3759, fol. 48. Pat. 1, Edw. IV, 3:23. Harl. MSS 1145 quoted in Mon. IV, 672. Pat. 7, Edw. IV, 3:13. Pat. 14, Ri. II, 2:39. Pat. 17, Hy. VI, 2:9, 8. Mon. VI, 998. Pap. L. I, 186. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 196 plan. Round Doc. 1403, Pat. 20, Hy. VI, 3:28, 27 Pat. 7, Edw. IV 3:13. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 196 plan. Cotton MSS Vesp. E. XVII. Ad. Finem. cited Mon. V, 186. Pap. L. VI, 250. Pat. 10, Hy. IV, 2:23. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 196

a fixed sum. It never changed with the change in value of the priory or the needs of the mother-house. And as the apport was usually small the conventual priories were not oppressed by their mother-houses as the dative priories were. A yearly sum of eighty pounds paid by the prior of Spalding to the prior of St. Nicholas was expressly declared by the king not to be an apport. It was the result of an agreement between the two houses, was made within the realm, and was considered by the king to be a rent rather than an apport.¹⁷² With this out of the way the largest apport was that paid by the prior of Lancaster,—£33, 6s., 8d.,. It is difficult to understand why this priory should pay such a large sum when its yearly value, according to the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV, was only £85, 6s., 8d.¹⁷³ Andover paid £13, 6s., 8d., and its yearly value was £73, 9s., 11d. in 1325.¹⁷⁴ The other apports of which we have record are all small ranging from one pound (Goldcliff and Northampton) to eight pounds (Montacute). The priory of Northampton, which paid only one pound apport was valued in 1325 at £235, 1s., 1d. (yearly value).¹⁷⁵ The priory of St. Neot's, whose yearly value was £171, 19s.,—in 1370—paid to Bec an apport of £1, 10s.¹⁷⁶ while Lewes priory, which was farmed by the king in 1337 for £333, 6s., 8d. yearly paid an apport of £5 a year to Cluny.¹⁷⁷

The declaratory statements made in patent rolls, papal letters, and episcopal registers, etc., are not as conclusive as the above-mentioned criteria, but they are reasonably good evidence nevertheless. They give us the following as conventual priories:— Bermondsey, Blyth, Boxgrove, Bromholm, Castleacre, Cowick, Clifford, Farleigh, Frampton, Horton, Lancaster, Lewes, Monacute, Mendham, Northampton, Pembroke, Pontefract, Prittlewell, St. Neot's, St. Michael's Mount, Stoke, Spalding, Thetford, Tutbery, Tywardreath, Wenlock, Holy Trinity York.¹⁷⁸

plan. Cl. 19, Edw. III, 1:24. Pat. 7, Edw. IV, 3:13. Pat. 17, Hy. VI, 2:9, 8. Pat. 20, Hy. VI, 3:28, 27. Pat. 10, Hy. IV, 2:15, 14. Pat. 17, Hy. VI, 2:9, 8. Pat. 1., Edw. IV 3:23. Rot. Parl. IV, 302. Pat. 4, Hy. VI, 2:8.

¹⁷² Cl. 2, Edw. III m. 37. See also Cl. 43, Edw. III m. 11. Pap. L. V 76. Mon. III 215-16. Add. MSS 35296.

¹⁷³ Tax. P. N. 307b, 309, 309b.

¹⁷⁴ Pat. 10, Hy. IV 2:15, 14. Add. MSS 6164.

¹⁷⁵ Cotton MSS Vesp. E. XVII cited Mon. V, 186. Add. MSS 6164.

¹⁷⁶ Add. MSS 6164, Pat. 10, Hy. IV 2:23.

¹⁷⁷ Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:37 Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 197 plan.

¹⁷⁸ Pat. 1, Hy. IV, 2:13. Pap. L. VII, 180. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 33, 37, II, 124-5. Cotton MSS Claud. A. VI, fol. 16. Pat. 18, Hy. VI, 2:21. Registrum Malmesburiense 258, 294, 351-3, Pat. 2, Hy. IV, 1:8. Pat. 1, Hy. IV, 2:13. Pat. 1, Hy. V, 2:31. Pat. 10, Hy. IV, 2:23. Pap. L. VI, 278, 456. Pat. 1, Hy. IV, 2:13. Pap. L. II, 400.

Authoritative declaratory statements of this sort give us the following as dative priories, (mostly Cluniac houses, the declaration in their case being negative and consisting in their omission from an authoritative list of Cluniac conventual priories).—Andwell, Carisbroke, Carswell, Daventry, Derby, Dudley, Hornchurch, Holme, Horksley, Kersal, Llangenyth, Malpas, Normansburgh, Prene, Ravendale, Roche, St. Clare, St. James near Exeter, St. Syriac, Slevesholm, Stanesgate, Ware, Wangford.¹⁷⁹

Such specifically authoritative statements, however, should not be confused with the mere use of the phrase "prior and convent" in connection with the priory. That phrase is used loosely and does not necessarily mean that the priory is conventual. We hear, for example, of "the prior and convent of Hayling"; "the prior and convent of Wangford"; and "the prior and convent of Daventry," which priories I have shown to be dative.¹⁸⁰

For a number of other reasons we can assign certain priories to the dative list. It is quite evident that a priory whose church was held by the mother-house as a prebend in a cathedral church could not have been a conventual priory. Such was the case with Loders, Wilmington, and Ogbourne.¹⁸¹ Where the abbot and not the prior is the party to legal agreement concerning the priory, as occurred with Andwell, we may designate the priory as dative.¹⁸² When there was a project of converting the priory of Arundel into a college the consent of the abbey of Séez had to be obtained.¹⁸³ We may describe Newton Longueville as a dative priory after we hear of license being granted to the convent of Longueville in Normandy to appropriate the church of Henney (in Berkshire) which was administered by the prior of Newton Longueville.¹⁸⁴ When a prior,— as the prior of Ware—acted in a lawsuit as proctor of his mother-house and not in his own right or that of his convent, we may be sure that he was a dative prior.¹⁸⁵ When papal reservations are made of certain churches as being "in the gift of" certain foreign abbeys and those houses appear elsewhere as being attached

¹⁷⁹ Ancient Deeds A, 3242, Transcript of charter cited V. C. H.—Hampshire II, 230. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 33 and f. Anc. Pet. 5807. Pap. L. III, 124, 139. Pat. 2, Hy. IV, 2:7. Pap. L. VI, 395. Pap. L. I, 336, 486. Reg. Peckham II, 427.

¹⁸⁰ Cl. 48, Edw. III, m. 30 d. Pap. L. VI, 380. Pap. L. IV, 387.

¹⁸¹ Pap. L. I, 189. Rot. Parl. IV, 43. Reg. of St. Osmund (R. S.) II, 71.

¹⁸² Ancient Deeds A, 3242.

¹⁸³ Pat. 3, Ri. II, 3:12:: 1: 12.

¹⁸⁴ Pat. 17, Edw. II, 1: 19. Min. Accts. Bdle. 1126, No. 16.

¹⁸⁵ Reg. Peckham II, 427.

to and administered by certain alien priors, we may designate the priories concerned as dative priories. This occurs in the case of Birstall, Ravendale, and Ware,¹⁸⁶ in the latter of which cases the prior in question is designated as disposing of the benefice as proctor of the mother-house in question. On the other hand, where the benefice to be reserved is described as being in the gift of the priory, that priory is a conventual priory,—as in the cases of Lewes, Castleacre, Northampton, Pembroke, Spalding, Lenton, Thetford, Holy Trinity York and Eye.¹⁸⁷

It has been understood by Tanner and others that a conventual priory always elected its own prior. The evidence at hand certainly does not bear this out. It is true that the monks of some alien conventual priories chose their own prior, e.g.,—Stoke, Abergavenny, Bromholm, Castleacre, Amesbury, Thetford and Nuneaton, although in the case of Abergavenny, Amesbury, Nuneaton and Thetford at least the election had to be confirmed by the abbot of the mother-house.¹⁸⁸ In the following cases it is quite clear that the abbot alone elected the prior and the priories which are certainly conventual had no choice in the election,—Boxgrove, St. Neot's, Prittlewell, Montacute and Eye.¹⁸⁹ Even in the case of Lewes the largest Cluniac priory in England, the abbot chose two monks, of whom the Earl of Warenne selected one.¹⁹⁰ In the case of Spalding, as the result of an agreement between abbey and priory, the latter on a vacancy was to send an envoy to the abbot of St. Nicholas, Angers, within three days, and within forty days of his arrival the abbot or his proctor should go to the priory to elect a prior, failing which the priory should elect without him.¹⁹¹

Whether the abbot of the mother-house actually chose the prior or simply confirmed the election by the priory, he presented the prior-elect to the bishop of the diocese for institution and induction. (The induction was usually performed by the archdeacon.) I am not at all sure that such institution occurred only in the case of conventual priories, and I have not used this as a criterion for my classification.

¹⁸⁶ Pap. L. III, 62. Pap. P. I, 488, 486.

¹⁸⁷ Pap. L. II, 262, et saepe; II, 352, 159, 364, 388, III, 445; II, 158, et saepe; II, 160 et saepe; II, 353, 173, III, 121, Pap. P. I, 41.

¹⁸⁸ Pap. L. VI 201. Pat. 3 Hy. VI 1: 24. Pap. L. I, 108, III, 15, 172, IV 339-40, 400, VII, 530-1.

¹⁸⁹ Pap. L. V 470-1, VI 250. Pat. 37, Edw. III 2: 42. Pat. 1 Hy. V 2: 31. Cl. 17 Edw. II m. 29.

¹⁹⁰ Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 92-4.

¹⁹¹ Pap. L. V 76.

Ordinarily it was only conventual priors that would have a right of presentation to a church, but in many cases the prior of a dative priory would present as proctor of his mother-house. When it is definitely stated that he is presenting as a proctor and not in his own right we may be sure that the priory is dative. This occurs in the cases of Ravendale, Birstall, Ogbourne and Wengale.¹⁹² In many cases, however, the presentation is merely ascribed in the record to the prior without any statement that he is acting as the proctor, and the mere fact that we have a record of a prior presenting to a church cannot be taken as proof that he is a conventual prior. This occurs in the case of at least three priories which were certainly dative,—Loders, Takely and Ware.¹⁹³ In some cases,—e.g., Linton¹⁹⁴—the foreign abbot presents to a church attached to an alien priory, in which case the priory is certainly dative.

It is evident that the estates of a conventual priory vested in the prior and convent of that priory and could not be sold by the mother-house. The following alien priories, then, whose possessions were sold by the foreign abbey must have been dative priories;—Alberbury, Andwell, Arundel, Avebury, Birstall, Edith Weston, Eskdale, Hagham, Harmondsworth, Hornchurch, Panfield, Swavesy, Takely, Weedon Pinkney, Wilmington, Wilsford, Wolston.¹⁹⁵

Summing up our evidence then we have the following conventual priories;—Abergavenny, Amesbury, Andover, Barnstaple, Bermondsey, Blyth, Boxgrove, Bromholm, Castleacre, Clifford, Cowick, Deerhurst, Eye, Farleigh, Folkstone, Frampton, Goldcliff, Horsham, Horton, Lancaster, Lenton, Lewes, Mendham, Monmouth, Montacute, Northampton, Nuneaton, Pembroke, Pontefract, Prittlewell, St. Michael's Mount, St. Neot's, Spalding, Stoke, Thetford, Tickford, Totnes, Tutbery, Tywardreath, Wenlock, Holy Trinity York. And we have the following dative priories;—Alberbury, Andwell, Arundel, Avebury, Birstall, Carisbroke, Carswell, Daventry, Derby, Dudley, Edith Weston, Eskdale, Hagham, Harmondsworth, Hayling, Holme, Horksley, Hornchurch,

¹⁹² Rot. Rob. Grosteste 86, see *Ibid.* 84, 53. Reg. Gifford (Surtees Soc.) 254, 287. Reg. Peckham (R.S.) III 1008.

¹⁹³ Exeter Reg. Bronscombe 33b. Rot. Rob. Grosteste, 195.

¹⁹⁴ Reg. Swinfield 530.

¹⁹⁵ Pat. 14, Ri. II, 2: 10. Pat. 3, Ri. II, 3: 12; 1: 12. Pap. L. 4, 239. Pat. 14, Ri. II, 2: 10. MSS Dodsworth (Bodle.) 7, fol. 237. Pat. 18, Ri. II, 2: 2. Pat. 14, Ri. II, 1: 15; 2: 43. Pat. 18, Ri. II, 1: 11. Pat. 20, Ri. II, 1: 32. Pat. 14, Ri. II, 2: 32. Pat. 14, Ri. II, 2: 11. Pap. L. IV, 439 and f. Pat. 1, Hy. V, 2: 10. Pat. 17, Ri. II, 1: 1. Pat. 15, Ri. II, 2: 11. Pap. L. IV, 440. Harl. MSS (B.M.) 4714 f. 250. Pat. 1, Ri. II, 6: 19. Rot. Parl. IV, 43. Pat. 2, Hy. V, 2: 14. Pat. 20, Ri. II, 1: 32.

Kersal, Linton, Llangenyth, Loders, Newton Longueville, Normansburg, Malpas, Ogbourne, Panfield, Prene, Ravendale, Roche, St. Clare, St. James near Exeter, St. Syriac, Slevesholm, Stanesgate, Swavesy, Takely, Wangford, Ware, Weedon Pinckney, Wengale, Wilmington, Wolston.

Thus we have forty-one priories which are certainly conventual and forty-three which are certainly dative. Of the remaining thirty-four priories, the great majority were probably dative, but I have not evidence conclusive enough to place them in the dative list.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE ALIEN PRIORIES, 1204-1295

The alien priories became alien in 1204 when John lost the Norman and Angevin possessions. At the same time they experienced their first seizure. It pleased John to seize the property held by the Normans in England—not as the property of aliens but rather as that of traitors. The property of the alien priories was restored to the priories who administered it in England, after the payment of a substantial fine, and John made more ready cash out of the situation by insisting that no profits from the estate of the alien priories should be sent out of the realm, and that those revenues which would ordinarily go to the foreign abbeys should be paid to him.¹ Among the rolls preserved in the Tower we have a “roll of the value of Norman lands” seized in 1204. It gives the values of some alien priories in Dorset and Somerset. The following values are given:²

Lands of Abbot of Preaux at Spettisbury, £12.

Lands of Abbess of Preaux in Dorset, £14, 3s., 6d.

Lands of Abbot of Bec at Povington, £8.

Lands of Abbess of Montviliers at Waddon, £6, 6s., 8d.

Lands of Monks of Montebourg at Loders, £33.

Lands of Chapter of Mortain in Dorset, £6.

Lands of Abbess of Caen in Dorset, £4.

Lands of Abbot of Grestein in Somerset, £17.

The lands of the abbot of Caen at Frampton, of the abbot of Preaux at Aston, and those of the abbey of Cluny at Ledcombe are also mentioned, but their values are not given. All of these are in the county of Dorset. The lands of the prior of Noyon in Hendred in Berkshire are also mentioned.

Most, if not all, of the property of the alien priories was restored in this year or in 1205 in return for the payment of a fine and the promises we have referred to above.

The following are the amounts of the fines of which we have record:

Prior of Frampton, £66, 13s., 4d. (100 marks)

Prior of Beckford, £1, 2s.

Prior of Loders, 11 palfreys.

Prior of Ogbourne, £100.

¹ Rotuli De Oblatis et Finibus, 199, 208, 313-4, 327-9, 334, 339.

² Rotuli Norm. I, 122 and f. The yearly value of the lands is given and then the value of the stock found on them at the time. I have given the former.

Prior of Spalding, £100, 2 palfreys.

Prior of Otterington, £6, 13s., 4d. (10 marks)

Prior of Andover, 1 palfrey.

Prior of Lapley, 2 palfreys.

Abbess of Preaux, 1 palfrey.³

The prior of Frampton promised to pay the king the share of the profits of the land which had previously gone to the foreign abbey. In this case it was estimated at £100 a year.⁴

The prior of Lodors made the same promise and swore not to send beyond the sea any of the profits of the lands he administered without license from the king.⁵ How long John demanded this yearly exaction we do not know, but although the English kings styled themselves "Dukes of Normandy" until 1259 and the Normans were theoretically rebels until that time, I am inclined to think that the practice in question did not extend beyond the earlier years of John's reign. At least there is no further record of it.

Out of the general silence of Henry III's reign on the subject of the alien priories there comes a record of what seems to have been another seizure. It occurs at the time of Henry's vain attempt to wrest the old possessions of the English crown in France from the French king. Our sole record is to the effect that the sheriff of Northamptonshire is commanded to seize into the king's hands all the lands and their appurtenances within his jurisdiction which belong to abbots, priors, and other religious men "across the sea."⁶ Matthew Paris states that in this year the king ordered that the lands of all Frenchmen and "especially Normans" be seized.⁷

There is nothing more to record in the public history of the alien priories until Edward I's seizure of 1295. So we shall turn to the internal conditions of the houses during that period. I am quite conscious of the fact that our information is meagre, but such as it is, I will let it speak for itself. The first point to be noticed is the fact that the discipline in these priories seems to have been much inferior to that of the native houses. This, of course, was not so noticeable as in a later period when war between the two countries and papal schism added a double barrier to the facility of relations between the priory in England and

³ Rotuli de Obl. et Fin. 199, 208, 313, 327-9, 334, 339.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁶ Rot. Orig. in Curia Scac. Abbrev. I, 8.

⁷ Math. Par.—Chron. Maj. IV, 288.

the abbey in France. Nor is the lack of discipline in this earlier period as ruinous to the financial status of the priories as it was in a later period when they were oppressed alike by the king and by civil and monastic officials and suffered from the ravages of war and the Black Death. They had more to fall back on now and spiritual decay did not necessarily mean financial ruin. The laxity of discipline, nevertheless, seems to be clearly enough marked.

Giraldus Cambrensis (beginning of thirteenth century) was doubtless something of a scandal-monger, but he knew conditions very well, especially in Wales and on the Welsh borders, he did not spare the native houses in the least, and I am inclined to accept his evidence that the monks in the alien priories were much looser in their living than those in the native houses. He says, "It is undoubtedly true that the monks sent from the kingdom of France to cells in England conduct themselves much more disgracefully and incontinently than the native English monks." And he continues to the effect that since they are so far from their monasteries and their superiors across the sea, they think they may do as they please and the reins of authority being loosed, give themselves to all manner of license.⁸

Giraldus deprecated in any case the sending of a small number of monks away from the monastery to form a "cell" or merely administrative priory.⁹ But it also happens that the two illustrations which he gives of the evils of this practice are both drawn from alien priories,—the prior of Llangenyth whose immoralities became such a scandal that he was deposed by the bishop,¹⁰ and a prior of a dependency of Sééz near the Irish Sea (Pembroke or Lancaster), who was relieved of his position on account of similar irregularities.¹¹ It is remarkable, says Giraldus, that monks sent to the poorest places prefer to live there eating coarse bread and stale porridge rather than in a large monastery with its beauty and rich ornaments. In fact so fond were they of the freedom from restraint which these small priories afforded that "I would rather return to my monastery than do that" became a common saying.¹² After asserting that alien priories are much worse than the native ones, Giraldus tells the story of a monk of Sééz who going from a priory in a distant part of England to another in Wales, took with him "non socium

⁸ Giraldus Cambr. (R. S.) IV 45.

⁹ See Giraldus Cambr. IV p. 30-32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV 33-4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV 34.

¹² *Ibid.*, 36.

sed sociam" and misconducted himself so flagrantly and openly that he was imprisoned in a Welsh castle.¹³

Some fifteen to twenty years later we have a letter (probably c. 1238) from the great reforming bishop of Lincoln, which shows a bad state of affairs in the alien priory of Minting. The letter is addressed to the abbot of the parent-house, Fleury. It begins, "We send you your two monks, Philip and Thomas," whom Grossetete had just expelled from Minting. Philip had been convicted of adultery on his own confession and "graviter defamatus super fornicatione." Both indulged in hunting and archery. The abbot of Fleury is requested in future to exercise more care in the monks he sends to Minting and the good bishop adds, "For you may be sure that with the help of God, we will not permit any monks to reside in our diocese except those who conduct themselves decently and live regularly according to the rule of St. Benedict."¹⁴ In another letter written about the same time the monk named Philip was said to be convicted of fornication, ownership of property, disobedience and eating meat contrary to rule. Thomas is not mentioned, but three other monks are accused of owning property, intolerable disobedience, frequenting of brothels and being a scandal to the whole countryside.¹⁵

Archbishop Peckham also found plenty of abuses in his day among the alien priories. In fact for scandalous conduct they stand out quite prominently in Peckham's register, coming in for much more than their share of dishonorable mention and showing that just as in the days of Giraldus Cambrensis they were worse than the native houses. In 1283 Peckham deposed a prior of Boxgrove for disgraceful conduct and forced him to leave the priory, but allowed him to return the next year on condition that he should not speak to a woman for a year upon pain of imprisonment and after that only in the presence of two other monks.¹⁶

At the priory of Arundel he also found considerable disorder and when the prior excused himself by claiming that he had no disciplinary power and that that power resided entirely in the abbot of Sées, Peckham wrote the abbot inquiring about such an unprecedented state of affairs and urging the need of conformity to rules.¹⁷ In July 1284 Peckham

¹³ *Ibid.*, 51f.

¹⁴ Rob. Gr. Epistolae (R. S.) 168.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 319.

¹⁶ Reg. Peckham (R.S.) II, 552-3, 682-3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 561.

wrote again to the Abbot of Séez informing him that he had found his prior at Pembroke to be living a most incontinent life to the scandal of the whole district and that he had enjoined him under pain of excommunication to report to his monastery within ten days and not to return within ten years.¹⁸

Archbishop Peckham had also various complaints to make regarding the Cluniacs and we must remember that all Cluniac priories were alien priories, and, except in the case of sub-dependencies of English priories, in this period they were usually governed by Frenchmen. Their discipline was certainly better than that of the other alien priories, but, on the other hand, they claimed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. Peckham could not act in the high-handed way in which he handled the other alien priories, but we hear of him writing repeatedly to Cluny and to Rome. In 1280 he wrote to the papal vice-chancellor regarding a monk of Pontefract and Montacute, who was imprisoned in London for forgery.¹⁹ The archbishop was considerably concerned over this matter of forgery among the Cluniacs. In 1281 he again wrote the papal vice-chancellor asking what was to be done to a certain monk guilty of forgery (probably the same case as above) who had a way of wandering about England from one Cluniac house to another. He asserts that innumerable privileges are forged in England to the serious injury of the English church (he does not *specifically* speak of Cluniac privileges) and asserts that nothing can be done with this evil unless inquisition is made by men who "do not know how to be corrupted by gold and silver."²⁰

When in 1285 the priory of Lewes (the chief Cluniac priory in England) fell vacant, Peckham wrote to the abbot of Cluny urging the election of an English prior. The priory had been misgoverned by French priors long enough. He says that he is getting to be an old man now, and rack his memory as he will he cannot recall that "ever up to the present time" has he seen a man presented by the prior and convent of Lewes to the cure of souls on good and conscientious grounds.²¹ In urging the election of an English prior he argues that those should be shepherds whose voice the sheep know and that those only should exercise authority in a country who know the language of that country.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 786-8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 146.

²⁰ Reg. Peckham I, 192.

²¹ Lewes itself presented to a score of churches in various parts of the country and had six other priories dependent upon it.

English priors would be much more serviceable to the cause of religion in England and there were many good Cluniac monks of English birth well qualified for such positions.²² In this we have a foregleam of the later expressions of objection to the alien priories on national grounds. And these expressions of opinion on the part of English prelates help us to understand why the English church raised no objection to Edward I's seizure of the alien priories.

Several other cases of lawlessness in alien priories during this period have come under our notice. In the year 1275 one monk was expelled from Thetford priory for incontinence and another for seriously and maliciously injuring one of the servants of the priory.²³

The Worcester Episcopal Registers afford us an interesting and not too pleasant picture of the life inside the alien priory of Wotton. At an inquisition made at Warwick in the year 1281, "William, vicar of Wotton deposed that being in his house at Wotton . . . there came the groom of the prior of Wotton and asked him to come to the priory to stay a discord between the said prior and brother Roger his monk. . . . When he entered the said hall he found the said brother Roger sitting in a chair bleeding from the nose. . . . The deponent being asked if he knew more of this violence said only by relation of those who were present in the hall, who asserted that the said prior hit the said brother Roger with his fist to the drawing of blood. . . . Being asked as to the withdrawal of hospitality and the distribution of alms, he said that the preceding priors from the time when he became prior and of old time were accustomed to make two distributions every week to the poor for two days, which this prior . . . in his time withdrew. . . . This deponent, moreover, said that the prior carried away all the goods of the said priory and that he believed that he wasted them because they were not returned to the use of the priory. He also says that he is customarily drunk and pugnacious with his household, as he heard from divers of the household who came to him complaining that the said prior chased them from their beds in the night on account of his drunkenness. And he says that the premises are of public notoriety in the neighboring villas as well as in Wotton. As for the cause of the discord, he says it was by reason of a certain sum of money."²⁴

In this, as in other cases, a bad prior hurt the priory financially, but I have been able to find only three cases before 1295 where alien

²² Reg. Peckham (R.S.) III, 902-5.

²³ Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 127.

²⁴ Worc. Ep. Reg. 129 and f.

priorities were in actual financial distress, whereas after that date, through the period of war and seizure, the records of distress are so abundant that they show such conditions to have been the rule rather than the exception. In a letter to the abbot of Cluny in 1293, Edward I speaks of the former's "very poor house of Lenton," which has been damaged by lack of government and the change and contention of the priors who have governed it, one of whom, after having been deposed, charged up the priory with a thousand pounds of black Tournois. The king intimates that this is not the only Cluniac house in England that is being fleeced by its priors, and recommends that the abbot of Cluny exercise care in the appointment of priors and in their oversight, so that when priors die or resign the houses may be in at least as good a state as when they received them.²⁵

A patent roll of the year 1293 tells of special provision being made by the king on account of the impoverishment of Amesbury.²⁶ In the same year the priory of Stanesgate was said to be threatened with ruin.²⁷

In the next period of the history of the alien priorities the decline may be traced quite clearly by the decrease in the number of monks, but in this period our data is not sufficient to allow us to draw any important conclusions. There is one striking, but probably exceptional case, that of Boxgrove, where the number of monks increased during the twelfth century from 3 to 6 to 13 and finally to 15, and during the thirteenth century dropped off from 15 to 7 (in 1283).²⁸ Comparing the number of monks in certain Cluniac priorities in 1262 and in 1275 we find that while Lenton showed an increase, Northampton dropped from 34 to 30, Montacute from 25 to 20, Wenlock from 44 to 42, and Bermondsey from 32 to 20.²⁹

Since my valuation is based largely on the Taxatio of 1291, this probably is the place to say something regarding the aggregate value of the alien priorities. A complete aggregate could not be arrived at from the "Taxatio" and I have made liberal use of the special extents of alien priorities taken in later years. Thus the total is not uniform for any one date, but I hope it represents something like an approximate total value in the early years of the French wars. I find that the priorities in my list (with the exception of one or two on which I could obtain

²⁵ Cl. 21, Edw. I m. 9 d.

²⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. I m. 14.

²⁷ Duckett's Visitations 212.

²⁸ Bibl. Cotton Claud. A VI fol. 1b. Reg. Peckham (R.S.) II 682-3.

²⁹ Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 122-144.

no data) were of a total annual value of £9687, 2s., 7½d., and that various other holdings of foreign abbeys in England (manors, tithes, etc., unattached to a priory and administered by bailiffs, proctors, etc.) yielded an annual income of £2225, 4s., 17d. This gives a total yearly value of £11,912, 8s., ½d. As there are estates in the second class as well as the first on which I could not obtain figures, the total yearly value was probably well over £12,000, which translated into our values would mean an annual yield of over a million dollars.²⁰

²⁰ For values of individual priories see Appendix.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE ALIEN PRIORIES, 1295-1348

The year 1295 is an important turning point in the history of the alien priories. Edward I's seizure in that year meant the beginning of a long and bitter experience for them, which lasted more than a hundred years, spelled for nearly all of them oppression, impoverishment and temporal and spiritual decline and ended for most of them in complete confiscation. The reason Edward gave for this seizure which was to form the precedent for many in the future was the fact that the existence of so many French monks in England, most of them quite near the sea coast, was a grave menace in time of war. They must not be allowed to harbor spies, betray useful information to the enemy in case of invasion, or send letters or money from the kingdom. It was this last point which in Edward's mind justified the sequestration of their revenue. The French monks living on English soil were not to supply France with the sinews of war. One need not be of an exceptionally cynical frame of mind to suggest that perhaps the real reason which lay back of all that was that Edward needed money. How badly he needed it and how hard he fought for it every one conversant with the history of his reign knows full well. He needed money and the alien priories were easy prey. It was quite easy to frame a case against them. They were too weak to defend themselves, and there was no one at hand to protect them. Their mother-houses were far away in the land of the enemy and neither English prelates nor English nobles loved them well enough to champion their cause. But need we limit Edward to just one motive? Was he insincere in his talk of danger to the realm? We shall hear later of alien spies being sheltered in alien priories, and we shall see that the priories often came under a very sincere suspicion. An exceptionally large number of them were near the coast and there was certainly the gravest danger of an invasion—an invasion which to Edward, his hands full with Wales and Scotland, would be well nigh fatal. Philippe le Bel had created a fleet in a year and the change from his maritime weakness in 1294 to his exceptional strength in 1295 must have been a disconcerting one for England.¹ A squadron under Montmorency attacked Dover on the first of August and another squadron under Jean d' Harcourt attempted a "coup de main" at Winchelsea on August 29. Both being

¹ For the formidable proportions of Philip's navy in the spring of 1295 see *La Roncière—Histoire de La Marine Française* I. 333-8. Philip had procured a number of transports and there can be no doubt that he planned an invasion.

beaten off the two squadrons returned and waited, the one at Calais and the other at Sluys.² The danger to Edward was imminent enough and an incident which happened just at this juncture pointed in a vivid manner to the peril from spies. A letter from Thomas de Turberville, a knight of Glamorgan, who held land in Middlesex³ to the prévot of Paris was intercepted and fell into the king's hands. It gives certain treasonable information, and shows that as a spy in the French employ he had large plans on hand. (The letter runs as follows: "To the Noble Baron and Lord Provost of Paris . . . Dear Sire,— . . . Know that there is little watch kept toward the south on the seaside. And know that the Isle of Wight is without a garrison. And know that the king is sending into Germany two earls, two bishops, and two barons to speak to and counsel with the King of Germany concerning this war. And know that the king is sending into Gascony twenty vessels loaded with wheat and oats, and other provisions, and a large amount of money; and Sir Edmund, the King's brother, will go there, and the Earl of Lincoln, Sir Hugh le Despenser, the Earl of Warwick, and many people of note; and this you can tell to the high lords. And know that we think that we have enough to do against the Scotch. And if the Scotch rise against the king of England, the Welsh will rise also. And this I have completely arranged and Morgan has positively covenanted with me to do.

Wherefore I counsel you to send at once people of weight into Scotland; for if you can get therein, you will have gained it forever. And if you will that I should go there, tell the king of Scotland to entertain me with all my people as his charges honorably. Advise me well if you wish me to go there or not; for I think it will advance your interests more to wait at the king's court to espy and learn by inquiry the news that may be for you; for all that I can learn by inquiry I will let you know. . . . And for God's sake I pray you to remember and consider of the promises which you made me from the high Lord, that is to say, a hundred libratae of land for myself and my heirs. And for God's sake I pray you for my children, that they may have no want while they are under your protection in eating or drinking or other sustenance, and for God's sake I pray you to consider how I can be paid this.") Turberville was arrested September 23, and was executed shortly afterwards.⁴

² La Roncière I, 342-4. Barth. de Cotton—Hist. Ang. (R.S.) 296.

³ Cl. 18, Edw. I 16d.

⁴ Barth. Cotton.—Hist. Angl. (R.S.) 306.

A few days later, on the 29th of September, the king sent orders to the sheriffs of Lancaster, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Somerset, Dorset, Cornwall, Devon, Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Hertford, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, London, York, Northumberland, Middlesex, Cumberland, Nottingham, Derby, Cambridge, and Huntingdon to cause all alien men of religion dwelling near the coast or near waters leading to the sea whereby they or others on their behalf might navigate to the sea or easily transfer themselves thither, to be removed from the places where they dwelt without delay, committing their houses to Englishmen of religion or, where no such are to be found to secular clerks in whose faithfulness and industry the sheriff had confidence, who should answer for the issues thereof, until the king should otherwise ordain as the king wished to avoid the perils that might arise to him and his realm by alien men of religion, Normans and others dwelling near the sea in his realm. The sheriff was also ordered to cause all ships and boats belonging to the said men of religion to be drawn to land and to remove from them all their tackle, so that they might have no use of them until the king should otherwise ordain.⁵ Those put in charge of these alien priories were to render an account of their issues at the exchequer.⁶

It is rather difficult to say what priories were affected by this order. In a later fine roll the distance from the sea or navigable river is stated. All alien monks situated within thirteen miles of the sea are to be removed to a point at least twenty miles inland to a house of their own order if possible. But it is difficult to determine what would be interpreted as a navigable river. Taking only the larger rivers into consideration, we find that the following priories would be affected by the order, if it was applied to all England, as it probably was:—Appuldercombe, Arundel, Barnstaple, Bermondsey, Boxgrove, Bromholm, Burwell, Carisbroke, Carswell, Castleacre, Chepstowe, Coggs, Cowick, Deerhurst, Derby, Edith Weston, Ellingham, Eskdale, Folkstone, Frampton, Haghham, Hamble, Harmondsworth, Hayling, Holme, Horksley, Horsham, Horton, Kersal, Leominster, Lancaster, Lewes, Lewisham, Llangenyth, Loders, Malpas, Minster, Minster Lovell, Modbury, Monmouth, Newton Longueville, Normansburg, Otterton, Pembroke, Pontefract, Prittlewell, Ravendale, St. James near Exeter, St. Michael's Mount, St. Syriac, Sele, Spalding, Steventon, Stanesgate, Stoke Curcy, Toft, Totnes, Tywardreath, Wangford, Wareham, West Mersea, Wilmington, Hol¹ Trinity York—sixty-three in all.

⁵ Cl. 23, Edw. III, m. 4d.

⁶ Pat. 23 Edw. III, m. 5d.

A more detailed account of this seizure is given in an undated fine roll which I shall quote, as no better account could be given of the measures taken. It provides for the movement of monks from the sea coast and navigable rivers, but I believe that much of it refers to the inland priories also, and that it deals with a general seizure and a general placing of alien priories under guardianship appointed by the crown.

"It is ordered by the king and council that foreign religious of the power of the king of France and of his allies or who are of their affinity or held to them by obedience or otherwise, dwelling *thirteen miles or less from the sea or by waters bearing ships to the sea* be removed and put in their houses or manors, if they be found distant twenty miles at least from the sea or such waters, or in other houses of the same order and language distant so far from the sea or such waters, and that in each house where such monks dwell the chief guardian assigned in the county put a parson, vicar or other sufficient clerk to the ward of each house and of the monks dwelling there, and that this guardian take his reasonable expenses of the chief guardian from the issues of the houses in his ward, and that each guardian . . . put Englishmen only to serve the monks, clerks or laymen, in church or without and such for whom the guardian will answer."

The monks shall "dwell in such houses without clerk, groom and horse except in the manner above stated. And that no stranger or private secular have access to speak to them save in the presence of the guardian. And that they send no letters or messages nor receive any save in the presence of their guardians who shall know what is contained therein. And that they have sustenance from the goods of their houses, to wit, each of them *eighteen pence a week* by the hand of the chief guardians. And that they go not out of the close of the houses where they dwell. And that they have from their houses vesture and shoes according to their requirements, to wit, each of them *ten shillings* a year by the hands of the chief guardian."

A day is to be appointed for removal—the time fixed according to distance and "that any found going about the country on any other day be arrested in the habit in which he is found until the king express his will.

"In each county according to the houses of such monks therein one or more guardians will be appointed by the treasury, according to the size of the ward,"—to make inventory "whereof one part shall remain with the exchequer and the other with him, of all goods found in his baliwick.

"Also if it be found that the monks dwelling in the places have alienated, taken away or concealed gold or silver or other treasure since Easter last year or if debts be now due, inquiry shall be made and they shall be taken into the king's hands until further order.

"And for the better knowing of the value of such lands, rents, churches, and all other issues the treasurer shall assign lawful persons and certain others than the guardians to extend and tax them.

"Where such alien religious have a common chapter seal or other seal of authority the seal shall be put in the ward of the monks in the places where they shall be dwelling, together with the charters, fines, and muniments of their houses under the seal of the chief guardian of their houses with the seals of two good and lawful men of the same vicinage.

"The relics, library, vestments, and other ornaments found in such houses shall remain in safe keeping by the assent of the monks thereof and in the said houses by witness in view of two good men of the same vicinage by chirograph indented between the guardians and the monks, saving the vestments, books, ornaments necessary for the service thereof; and in a religious house where there is a conventual or parish church served by a monk the service shall be maintained by an honest and sufficient English priest where there is no English monk." All alms anciently ordained and established are to be maintained. All secular parsons of churches of the power of the king of France resident in England, if they be within thirty miles of the sea, shall also be removed, and they shall receive the issues of their benefice through the hands of *English* proctors.⁷

The guardians were appointed sometime before November 4th, some for a single county, some for a group of counties, and a fine roll of that date orders "the tenants of the priories and houses of religious of the parts beyond the seas to be intendant upon" the guardian in each of the several groups and the sheriffs are ordered to deliver such priories and houses to the said guardians.

The same roll gives, under date of November 8, an order to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford to take into the king's hands *all* lands and goods of *all* alien religious of the power of the king of France in his liberty of Glamorgan and the same order is issued to the Earls of Hereford, Arundel, and Pembroke re. liberties held by them.⁸

⁷ Fine 23, Edw. I, m. 2.

⁸ Fine 23, Edw. I, m. 1.

The list of counties given in this roll shows that we are dealing with a *general* seizure of alien priories throughout England.

We know the destination of some of the monks who were moved inland. The prior of Wilmington was sent to the Abbey of Certeneye, and the priors and monks of Lewisham and Totnes to Gloucester.⁹

On December 10, a few months after the seizure, the following priories were restored each to its prior on condition that he render a fixed sum of money yearly to the exchequer;—Ogbourne, Prittlewell, Frampton, Ware, Bricett, Astley, Goldcliff, Thetford, Steventon, Otterton, Stanesgate, Loders, Newton Longueville, Wenlock, Northampton, St. Neot's, West Mersea, Lewes, Holy Trinity York, Sele, Lenton, Castleacre, Wilmington, Ravendale, Cammeringham, Lenton, Panfield and Wells, Hagh, Arundel, Patrickburn (manor), Throwley (manor), Leominster, Folkstone, Toft, Edith Weston, Totnes, Monks Kirby, Wilsford, Tutbury. Similar restitution was also made to the proctors of the abbots of St. Nicholas, Angers, and Savigny, the bailiffs of the abbots of Conches, Aunay, and Sééz, and the keeper of the church of Upchurch.¹⁰

A patent roll of March 23, 1297, shows that at that time the following alien priors, (in addition to a number of those already mentioned) held their priories on the same conditions;—Harmondsworth, Barnstaple, Andover, Otterton, Cowick, St. James near Exeter, Uphaven (manor), Birstall, Ecclesfield, Blyth, St. Cross, St. Helen, Appuldercombe, Carisbroke, Brimpsfield (manor), Avebury, Modbury, Tywardreath, Clifford, St. Neot's, Newent (manor), Coggs, Horton.¹¹

These lists would show clearly if any further proof were needed, that Edward's seizure went further than priories situated near the coast or navigable rivers. A number of these—e.g., Ware, Bricett, Wenlock, Northampton, Panfield, Wilsford, Tutbury, were clearly inland priories. It seems perfectly clear from references already given that (with the exception of some, which, as we shall see, obtained special exemption) Edward I seized all the priories which he considered alien. One account states that in this year, 1295, Edward placed guardians over all the possessions of alien monks and gave to each monk eighteen pence a week for maintenance, and that the priors might receive them again on finding mainspernors and promising to pay a fixed yearly sum

⁹ Fine 23, Edw. III, m. 1.

¹⁰ Pat. 24, Edw. I, m. 21.

¹¹ Pat. 25, Edw. I, 1: 12d.

at the exchequer.¹² It should be stated here that this fixed yearly sum was really a farm which the prior paid for the use of what were still his (or his abbots) possessions and which were simply "in the king's hands during the war" at the end of which they would revert to their owners. This is true of all seizures of alien priories down to the confiscation of Henry V.

We have spoken of certain priories which were exempted from this seizure of Edward I for special reasons. Clifford and Horton were exempted because the prior and monks were English and were not directly subject to a foreign abbey, but to an English house, Lewes.¹³ Boxgrove was not seized because the monks were English and elected their own prior.¹⁴ And we learn that the priories of Eskdale and Alberbury were never seized until 1343.¹⁵ Castleacre and Farleigh were seized at first, but were both released in 1306 for the same reasons which exempted Clifford and Horton. It was found that the prior and monks were English, that they did not pay any tax or pension to any in the power of France and were not bound by allegiance or affinity to any of that power, save that the abbot of Cluny used to visit when he came to England and the monks during such visitation received their profession from the abbot.¹⁶ The exemption of Castleacre would include its four dependencies: Bromholm, Mendham, Slevesholm and Normansburgh. It may be asked why of a number of Cluniac dependencies of English houses these four,—Castleacre, Farleigh, Horton and Clifford—alone are released from seizure. But of all such dependencies it may be noted that these four alone are conventual and the others,—Stanegate, Dudley, Prene, St. Helen's, Derby, Roche, Kersal, St. Syriac, Holme, Malpas, Wangford and Horksley are all dative priories. Claims such as those made above could not be made for these dative priories whose priors were officers of and whose revenues and other affairs were controlled by a priory which was dependent directly upon a foreign house.

Another conventual priory, though not of the Cluniac order, which could show that its monks were all English and elected their own prior, was also exempted from this seizure,—Boxgrove, a Benedictine priory, dependent upon the foreign abbey of Lessay. We do not hear of its claiming in this case, as it did later,—in 1338—that it paid no apport

¹² *Annales de Wigornia* in *Annales Mon.* (R. S.) IV, 524-5.

¹³ See Cl. 11, Edw. III 2: 10; Cl. 18 Edw. III 1: 20; Cl. 13 Edw. III 1: 41.

¹⁴ See Cl. 12 Edw. III 3: 23 d.

¹⁵ Cl. 17 Edw. III 1:2.

¹⁶ Cl. 24 Edw. I m. 11; Cl. 18 Edw. II m. 19.

to Lessay. If it did, we should like to know what became of the apport. If it did not, then as a conventual priory paying no apport to a foreign monastery and electing its own prior, it was practically a native house. In Edward II's reign it was seized as an alien priory, because at that time its prior was a Frenchman.¹⁷

Before leaving the reign of Edward I we must note the statute of Carlisle (1307). In the preamble to that statute we find some indications of the conditions of affairs in the alien priories. After describing the purposes for which they were founded, e.g., care of the sick, hospitality, alms giving, prayer for souls of the founders, it proceeds as follows: "The abbots, priors, and governors of said houses and certain aliens or superiors, as the abbots and priors of the orders of the Cluniacs, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Augustinians and Benedictines have at their own pleasure set divers unwonted, heavy and importable tallages, payments, and inquisitions upon every of the said monasteries and houses in subjection unto them in England . . . without the privity of our Lord the King and his nobility contrary to the laws and customs of the said realm; and thereby the number of religious persons . . . being oppressed by such tallages, payments and inquisitions, the service of God is diminished, alms being not given to the poor, sick and feeble, the health of the living and souls of the dead be miserably defrauded, alms-giving, and other godly deeds do cease."¹⁸

The reference here is no doubt to the English houses in general who responded to any taxes levied by the alien abbots of their orders. But the description here given must nevertheless have applied with special force to the alien priories. In its enactment the statute first refers to a previous act which had been passed in 1305 forbidding the payment of such tallages to foreign abbots, but which was not put in force until the more finished statute of 1307 was framed.¹⁹ This reference reads as follows: "That no abbot, prior, master, warden, or other religious person, of whatsoever condition, state, or religion he be, being under the king's power of jurisdiction, shall by himself, or by merchants or others, secretly or openly, by any device or means carry or send, or by any means cause to be sent, any tax imposed by the abbots, priors, masters, or wardens of religious houses their superiors, or assessed amongst themselves, out of his kingdom and his dominion, under the

¹⁷ Cl. 12, Edw. III 3:23d. Pat. 6, Ri. II 2: 14 (Inspex of Pat. Roll of 13, Edw. III).

¹⁸ Statutes of the Realm I, 150ff.

¹⁹ For import of the act of 1305 see Rot. Parl. I, 178b.

name of a rent, tallage, or any kind of inquisition or otherwise by the way of exchange, mutual sale, or other contract howsoever it may be termed; neither shall depart into any other country for visitation, or upon any other color, by that means to carry the goods of their monasteries and houses out of the kingdom and dominion aforesaid. And if any will presume to offend this present statute he shall be grievously punished according to the quality of his offense, and according to his contempt of the king's prohibition. . . ."

The statute then enacts that no document shall be legally recognized unless sealed by a common seal kept by the abbot and four of his most discreet monks. "But it is not the meaning of our lord the king to exclude the abbots, priors, and other religious aliens, by the ordinances and statutes aforesaid from executing their office of visitation in his kingdom and dominion; but they may visit at their pleasures, by themselves or others, the monasteries and other places in his kingdom and dominion in subjection unto them, according to the duty of their office, in those things only that belong to regular observation and the discipline of their order. Provided that they which shall execute this office of visitation shall carry, or cause to be carried out of his kingdom and dominion, none of the goods or things of such monasteries, priories, and houses, saving only their reasonable and competent charges."²⁰

This statute is certainly not aimed directly at the regular yearly apports paid by the English houses directly dependent on foreign abbeys. It is rather aimed at general and occasional levies made by the abbots of Citeaux, Cluny, etc. In fact the original act was called forth in the first place by such a levy recently made by Citeaux on all the Cistercian houses in England.²¹ It is in general line with our subject because it marks a growing opposition to foreign monasteries drawing money from England, but we shall see from later developments that it was not interpreted as applying to the regular yearly apports paid by the alien priories.

How long the sequestration of Edward I lasted we do not positively know. It continued until 1306 and probably till 1307 at least, and as we find no reference to a sequestration by Edward II before 1324 we may assume tentatively, at least, that the possessions of the priories were restored sometime in 1307, the year of the ushering in of the new reign.

The intrigues of France in 1324 and the threatening war caused another seizure of the alien priories. There were two seizures of alien

²⁰ Statutes of the Realm I, 150 and f. Statutes at Large I, 326 and f.

²¹ Rot. Parl. I, 178 b.

property in this year and they must be carefully distinguished. In July an order was issued that on account of the warlike movements of the king of France and his treatment of English subjects, all men "of the power of the king of France" be arrested and placed in custody together with their ships, goods, etc., until further orders were given.²² This order probably referred only to transients. It certainly did not include the alien priories. On August 4th the king sent out specific orders to the sheriffs to the effect that it was not the king's intention that alien men of religion governing priories, cells, or places of religion should be arrested or their goods taken into the king's hands by virtue of the aforesaid order, and that any such who had been arrested by mistake should be released.²³

In October of that same year, however, the king seized the alien priories. Orders issued under date of October 12 show that all alien priories of the power of the king of France together with their lands, goods, etc., were to be seized into the king's hands. The custodians were to see that each monk received from the issues of the priories eighteen pence a week for maintenance plus ten shillings a year for other necessities (Four pounds, eight shillings a year). Reference is also made to orders issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops to see that all alien monks in their dioceses, situated near the sea and navigable waters leading to the sea be moved to houses further inland.²⁴ An undue air of mystery regarding this seizure has been assumed by modern historians. Abbot Gasquet, for instance, knows only of the reference in the restoration of Edward III. He says: "This seizure by Edward II of the alien priories is not mentioned by the historians, but the document," (Cl. I Edw. III 1:22, which he cites as given in Rymer IV 246) "leaves no doubt of the suppression which was carried out on account of the French war 'by the late king our father' (nuper rex Angliae pater noster)." Tanner and Dugdale knew of no evidence save this close roll of Edward III. As a matter of fact there are more descriptions of this seizure to be found in the sources than that of any other, e.g., Vasc. 18, Edw. II m. 22 d, given in Rymer IV 96; Add. MSS 6164; Min. Accts. Bdle. 1125; *Chronica de Melsa* (R.S.) II 349; *Flores Historiarum* (R.S.) III 225; *Annales Paulini*—Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II (R.S.) I 313; *Chancery Miscellanea* Bdle. 18, file 1, Nos. 3, 5, 6; *Sarum Ep. Reg. Mortival* I, 236, *Walsingham-His. Angl.* (R.S.) I 259.)

²² Rymer IV, 72 from Vasc. 18, Edw. II, m. 30.

²³ Cl. 18 Edw. II, m. 36.

²⁴ Rymer IV, 96 from Vasc. 18 Edw. II m. 22 d.

The seizure certainly took place at this time, but in some parts of England at least the orders for moving alien monks inland were not carried out. New orders to this effect were issued to the Bishops of Chichester and Salisbury early in September, 1326.²⁵ Perhaps these bishops had been tardy, but probably the king, the immediate crisis of 1324 past, had not carried through this removal of alien monks; then just before the invasion of the Queen and her French army in September, 1325, he issued new orders for moving the French monks away from the sea and navigable rivers. His motives for so doing are described in both the letters referred to above. He feared a French invasion and in such a case the presence of so many Frenchmen so near the coast prepared to provide information of various sorts constituted a real menace to the realm. The king was also impressed by the fact that there was a small army of French monks living on English soil and supported by English lands praying for the success of French arms. We may hope that the king found some consolation for that fact in confiscating the property of these praying monks and cutting down their livelihood to eighteen pence a week.

During this seizure as during that of the previous reign those priors who could provide security for good conduct were allowed to occupy and administer their priories in return for the payment of a yearly farm to the king.²⁶

There can be no doubt that this seizure by Edward II was a general seizure of all alien priories in England, the only exceptions being those who could plead special reasons for exemption such as shall be discussed below.

I have already noted the exemption from seizure during Edward I's reign of Clifford, Horton, Farleigh, Castleacre, Bromholm, Mendham, Slevesholm, Normansburg, Alberbury and Eskdale. All of these were exempted in this reign also (Castleacre and its cells only after special application to the king).²⁷ Other Cluniac priories were excepted from this seizure,—Bermondsey and Derby—²⁸ and Lewes the chief Cluniac house in England was restored to its prior on the exceptional ground that "the prior never paid any 'apportum' out of the realm to parts

²⁵ Chanc. Misc. Bdle. 18, file 1, No. 6, Sarum Ep. Reg. Mortival I, 274 d.

²⁶ Chanc. Misc. Bdle. 18, file 1, No. 6; *Chronica de Melsa* II, 349; *Annales Paulini*—*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II* (R. S.) I, 313.

²⁷ See p. 59 above and authorities there given.

²⁸ *Min. Accts.* Bdle. 1127, No. 18.

beyond, except in paying a hundred shillings yearly to the Abbot of Cluny."²⁹

On the other hand, Boxgrove, which had been exempted from Edward I's seizure³⁰ was now seized into the king's hand because its prior was an alien, which shows that alien *character* as well as alien financial connections was an important factor in these seizures.³¹ We have already spoken of Castleacre's special application for restitution. The records of Edward I's reign were consulted and the priory was restored to the prior for the same reason as before.³²

With the coming to the throne of Edward III and peace between England and France, the alien priories were restored to their priors. A close roll dated February 4, 1327,—a few days after Edward III's accession,—shows the restoration of the following priories, "saving to the king until otherwise ordered, the apportionment" due to the foreign abbey,—Tickford, Wangford, Horksley, Linton, Modbury, Loders, Frampton, Otterington, Thetford, Avebury, Clatford, Appuldercombe, St. Helen's, Pontefract, Blyth, Harmondsworth, Ecclesfield, Mersea, Sele, Holy Trinity York, Deerhurst, Barnstaple, Carswell, St. James near Exeter, Pembroke, Sherbourne, Eye, Wolston, Lenton, Creting and Everdon (manors), Leominster, Coggs, Ogbourne, St. Neot's, Stoke, Steventon, Goldcliff, Cowick, Wilsford, Cammeringham, Carisbroke, Hinkley, Titley, St. Cross, Hamble, Wareham, Panfield and Wells, Lancaster, Andwell, Folkstone, Minster, Tywardreath, St. Michael's Mount. Restitution is also made to the Abbess of Caen, the Abbess of Gyne, the Abbots of Fécamp, Cluny, Sééz, Lire, the prior of Noyon and the proctors of the abbot of Bec and the prior of Mortain.³³

In spite of the fact that there may have been a much larger number of exemptions to the seizure of Edward II than those we have stated above and allowing for priories restored to the abbots mentioned above, I do not think that this list gives all of the priories seized by Edward II and restored by Edward III.

Only one other incident deserves a place in this history before we describe the next seizure, that of Edward III in 1327. Two years before that Parliament forbade men of religion and merchants taking "silver in

²⁹ Cl. 11, Edw. III, 1: 41.

³⁰ See above p. 59.

³¹ Cl. 12, Edw. III, 3:23 d; Pat. 6, Ri. II, 2: 14. (Inspex of Patent Roll of 15, Edw. III).

³² Chanc. Misc. Bdle. 18, file 1, No. 5; Cl. 18, Edw. II, m. 19; see above, p. 59.

³³ Cl. 1, Edw. III, 1: 22.

sheets or vessels of gold or silver" out of the realm without the king's special license.³⁴

With the outbreak of war in 1337 Edward III followed the precedent already so well established, and in July 1st of that year ordered "all lands, tenements, benefices, possessions, etc., of all of the power of France, secular as well as religious, possessions of the men of Brittany excepted" to be seized into the king's hand. They were placed under custodians as before, care being taken that provision was made for the sustenance of the monks. A day was set on which the alien priors were to appear before the king and council to answer questions and receive further orders.³⁵ On August 3 the king farmed out the priories to their priors at the following farms:

	£	s.	d.
Loders.....	70		
Otterington.....	100		
St. Andrew, Northampton.....	133	6	8
Throwley (manor).....	32		
Ware.....	230		
Noyon (manor).....	55		
Thetford.....	66	13	4
Prittlewell.....	40		
Panfield and Wells.....	75		
West Mersea.....	50		
Wangford.....	20		
Montacute.....	120		
Holme.....	4		
Barnstaple.....	6	13	4
Cresswell.....	10	13	4
Parson of Avenyege Church.....	16	13	4
Abbess of Holy Trinity Caen.....	200		
Bermondsey.....	100		
Sele.....	33	6	8
Birstall.....	266	13	4
Ecclesfield (manor).....	13	6	8
Keeper of Scarborough.....	13	6	8
Coggs.....	10		

³⁴ See Cl. 12, Edw. III, 1: 2d.

³⁵ Rymer IV, 777 from Rot. Vasc. 11; Edw. III, m. 9. Ab. Rot. Or. II, 116. Add. MSS 6164. Walsingham—Hist. Angl. I, 222. Cl. 12, Edw. III 1: 20. Cl. 11, Edw. III 1: 2.

	£	s.	d.
Holy Trinity York.....	100		
Wenlock.....	170		
Lewes.....	333	6	8
Eye.....	160		
Hagh.....	73	6	8
Steventon.....	60		
Lancaster.....	66	13	4
Wilsford.....	25		
Creting and Everdon (manor).....	16		
Wilmington.....	170		
Arundel.....	35		
Newton Longueville.....	95		
Farley (Bedford) (manor).....	26	13	4
Stanesgate.....	8		
Tickford.....	30		
Frampton.....	90		
Tuttebury.....	66	13	4
Hamble.....	7		
Boxgrove.....	60		
Proctor of Mortain.....	30		
Wolston.....	30		
Monks Kirby.....	53	6	8
Folkestone.....	30		
Lewesham.....	6	13	4
Horton.....	26	13	4
Upchurch (Church) & Charleton (Wilts) (manor).....	40		
Manor of Ledcombe belonging to Abbot of Cluny....	46	13	4
Ogbourne.....	520		
Lenton.....	80		
Clatford.....	45		
Wareham (manor).....	1		
Avebury.....	24		
Carisbroke.....	113	6	8
Harmondsworth.....	80		
Blyth.....	13	6	8
Pontefract.....	26	13	4
Toft.....	80		
Hayling.....	40		
St. Helen's (manor).....	13	6	8
Parson of Gusseych (Church).....	3	6	8

	£	s.	d.
Parson of Witchingham (Church).....	6	13	4
Hinckley.....	32		
Proctor of Cluny.....	33	6	8
Appuldercombe.....	63	13	4
Sherbourne.....	80		
Newent (manor).....	130		
Proctor of Aunay.....	46		
St. Neot's.....	160		
Proctor of Ivry.....	33	6	8
Total	5147	13	4

This manuscript³⁶ is said to be incomplete and as a matter of fact—excluding manors, churches, etc.—we have in the above list only 52 priories out of a total of 117 alien priories in England. In another roll³⁷ we have a list of farms which include many of the above, and in addition the following:

	£	s.	d.
Wotton.....	40		
Sporle.....	6	13	4
Minting.....	18		
Modbury.....	10	13	4
Takeley.....	126		
Stoke.....	200		
Wengale.....	10		
	411	6	8
Previous total	5147	13	4

Grand total 5559

This gives a total of £5559 and we still have only 59 priories out of 117. Of the 18 priories which we know were exempted at this time 5 appear in the above list (either by mistake or because their exemption had not yet been granted). This leaves us still 45 priories to account for. So even if a number of these were exempt without our knowledge and if we have in the above lists most of the unattached manors and churches, it seems probable that—at the lowest estimate—the alien priories netted the king at this time about seven thousand pounds a year.³⁸

³⁶ Cl. 12, Edw. III, 1:20.

³⁷ Cl. 11, Edw. III, 2: 37.

³⁸ As we shall see below, at least 84 real priories were restored in 1361, 31 of which are not accounted for above.

The king allowed the priors to resume their administrations only on the payment of a fine. These fines from the limited number of priories listed above netted the king £876. 10s. The whole proceeds of this imposition was probably worth a thousand pounds to him. So within a year his straitened circumstances would be relieved to the extent of at least eight thousand pounds from the proceeds of the alien priories.

Then came the claims for exemption which were granted to the following priories on the grounds noted above in connection with the earlier seizures, Horton, Bromholm, Mendham, Eskdale, and Alberbury.³⁹ The prior of Lewes cited the exemption of Edward II for the reason noted above, but he was merely granted respite of his farm until inquiry could be made.⁴⁰ Further respite was granted in 1339 and 1340.⁴¹ In 1349 Lewes was "in the king's hands on account of the war," so their claim had not been as successful as in the previous reign.⁴² Castleacre in 1337 was seized, restored and again seized and had to wait until 1340, when it was finally restored for the same reason as in the previous reigns.⁴³

The prior of Boxgrove cited the exemption of Edward I and claimed that the priory had been sequestered in Edward II's reign only because of a French prior, whereas the prior and all the monks were now Englishmen as before. He was granted a respite of his farm pending an investigation.⁴⁴

In this year, 1337, we find priories exempted from seizure for a new reason. The property of "the men of Brittany" is exempted; so the priories of Linton, which was subject to St. Jacutes and Long Bennington, subject to Savigny, were freed from seizure.⁴⁵ The priory of Andover was excepted because the prior was born in Aquitaine, another evidence that the alien character of the prior (that is whether or not he was "of the power of the king of France") was an important consideration.⁴⁶

We also meet in this year another new cause for exemption,—poverty. The strain was beginning to tell. Swavesy was excepted from seizure because the king had considered the poverty of the priory and wished to be merciful to the prior,⁴⁷—Farley (Bedford) partly on account of

³⁹ Cl. 13, Edw. III 1:41. Cl. 11, Edw. III 2:39; Cl. 17, Edw. III 1: 2.

⁴⁰ Cl. 11, Edw. III 2: 30d.

⁴¹ Cl. 13, Edw. III 2:6d. Cl. 14, Edw. III 1:44d.

⁴² Pat. 23, Edw. III 3: 26.

⁴³ Cl. 11, Edw. III, 2: 42. Cl. 14, Edw. III, 1: 29.

⁴⁴ Cl. 12, Edw. III, 3: 23 d.

⁴⁵ Cl. 11, Edw. III, 2: 33.

⁴⁶ Cl. 15, Edw. III, 3: 14d.

⁴⁷ Cl. 11, Edw. III, 1: 2.

poverty and partly because the poverty prevented the prior from paying apport.⁴⁸

We notice now also that on account of the very heavy farms which they are forced to pay, the alien priories are freed from the obligation of finding men at arms⁴⁹ and paying ninths and tenths.⁵⁰ It was said that all this was included when the farms were fixed. Doubtless it was and much more. How heavy the farms were is illustrated by the fact that as early as 1339 the prior of Eye asked that he be discharged of his farm and that he and his monks and servants be paid "reasonable wages,"⁵¹ and in the same year the prior of Sherbourne made the same request. In the latter case the prior stated that he was paying a farm of eighty pounds, whereas the extent returned to the chancery showed a value of only sixty pounds.⁵² How close many of the other farms ran to the value line may be seen by comparing farm and value as given in the appendix. The king within a few years—before 1342 at the latest—had adopted the practice of farming the priories and manors to others besides priors and proctors, and if the latter desired to retain administration of their possessions they had to come up to the price others were willing to pay.⁵³ The king may have professed to favor the priors, but it looks very much as though he were after the largest price regardless of where it came from.

As the Hundred Year War proceeded, stirring a national enthusiasm, creating a hatred of the French and developing a national consciousness, a more radical attitude towards the alien priories manifested itself in the Commons. The first evidence of this appears in the year 1346. In that year the Commons petitioned that all alien monks should be expelled from the kingdom and that Englishmen should be put in their places. The reasons given were that the French monks paid an apport to France (which of course they did not during the war) that "the faith" was suffering since the alien monks were not properly qualified and that "good English scholars" were deprived of their rightful opportunities.

It was replied, however, that since the alien monks "were spiritual and were in their houses by institution," the matter was not within

⁴⁸ Cl. 11, Edw. III, 1: 1.

⁴⁹ See cases of Bermondsey, Cl. 13, Edw. III, 1: 4, and Steventon, Cl. 13, Edw. III, 2: 31d.

⁵⁰ Rot. Parl. II, 119. Cl. 12, Edw. III, 1: 20.

⁵¹ Cl. 13, Edw. III, 2: 26d.

⁵² Cl. 13, Edw. III, 2: 26d., 3: 22 d.

⁵³ Cl. 16, Edw. III, 1: 28.

the competence of Parliament. The king alone could expel them; he had already seized their lands and benefices.⁵⁴

That same year, 1346, the Commons succeeded in having a provision passed that no alien should send letters beyond the sea or receive letters from foreign parts without first showing them to the chancellor or to the wardens of the ports or their deputies,—on pain of forfeiture of all their possessions.⁵⁵

A notable feature of the internal history of the alien priories during this period is the revolt of the English Cluniac monks against the French monks who were placed over them in the English priories. In 1331 they presented a petition to Parliament. This petition stated that the Cluniac houses were very badly governed. In some houses, e. g., Montacute and Bermondsey, where there should have been thirty or forty monks there were only a third of that number and the money that should have gone for the upkeep of the priories had been sent out of the country. Another evil lay in the fact that they were exempt from archiepiscopal and episcopal visitations. There was no free election and the foreign priors were ignorant of everything but how to gather in money, much of which was sent out of the realm. There were twenty professed monks (Cluniac) in the whole country; and some of the English monks were kept twenty years before they were professed, while others were never professed. Parliament was petitioned to allow the prior of Lewes to administer the vows to monks in the English priories.⁵⁶ Moreover, the French were the masters and the English monks the subjects, and those of the two nationalities living in one house never got along together.⁵⁷ All of which abuses the king promised to amend.⁵⁸

We have not sufficient evidence to show clearly a decline of morality and discipline in the alien priories during this period. The instances given below will show how disastrous the lack of discipline was in a period when the priories had so many other burdens to bear.

In 1314 William de Auvernot, prior of Prittlewell (a Cluniac dependency of Lewes) was accused of incontinence. The Cluniac visitors ordered the prior of Lewes to inquire into the case, and on doing so the

⁵⁴ Rot. Parl. II, 162b.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 163 b.

⁵⁶ This could be done only by the abbot of Cluny.

⁵⁷ "Une natiun serunt tuz mestres . . . e les autres tus suges, . . . Les deus naciuns en une mesun ne sey accorderunt iames."

⁵⁸ Reynerus—Apostolatus Benedict. in Angl. 147 from petitions of Parl. held at Winchester 4, Edw. III, No. 63.

latter deposed the accused prior.⁵⁹ In February, 1316, the king took the priory under his protection on account of its poverty and indebtedness and in December of the same year he ordered restitution of the temporalities to James de Cusancia, a monk of Lewes, presented as prior of Prittlewell by the prior of Lewes. The deposed prior, William, nursed his wounded spirits for a time, and then sometime in 1318 engineered a raid on the priory, which he entered with an armed mob, drove out the opposing monks and made merry for a time, wasting the goods of the priory, breaking up chests, sealing "divers obligations and blank letters" with the common seal of the priory and "committing other excesses and subversions of alms." The king ordered his escheator beyond Trent to take the priory into his hands pending investigation. The priory was restored to James, which was a signal for William to gather a mob again, and once more raid the priory. This time he is said to have outdone his merry-making of the previous occasion. In the meantime he had appealed to the archbishop who (probably in ignorance of this second raid) restored to him the priory. James then appealed both to the archbishop and to the pope. But Lewes would not wait. Under order of their prior, certain monks of Lewes led an armed force to Prittlewell, attacked William while he was saying mass at the high altar, wounded him in the head, battered up some of his monks, bound prior and monks hand and foot and carried them off in a cart to Lewes. In 1321 William died and James was left to reap the whirlwind.⁶⁰ We hear of many "wasting" alien priors. Unfortunately or otherwise in most cases the details of their work have not come down to us as in this instance.

About the same time John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, was seeking to remedy a disgraceful state of affairs in the priory there. No discipline of any kind seemed to have existed, and Hastings in 1319 called the attention of the pope to the situation, informing him among other things that while the priory enjoyed a revenue sufficient to support thirteen there were only five monks in it who were never visited, and who led an exceedingly dissolute life.⁶¹ The pope ordered the Bishop of Llandaff to inquire into the situation and the Bishop's report gives us a detailed picture of the condition of this alien priory. The property

⁵⁹ Duckett's Visitations 302, 316, Close 9 Edw. II m. 33.

⁶⁰ Duckett Visitations, etc., 302, 316. Close 9 Edw. II m. 23. Pat. 9 Edw. II 1: 7. Pat. 12 Edw. II 1: 24. Pat. 12 Edw. II 1: 5, 22d. Cl. 12 Edw. II m. 29, 23. Pap. L. II 211, 214.

⁶¹ Pap. L. II, 186.

of the priory yielded a yearly revenue of 200 marks and was well able to support thirteen monks, whereas usually five lived there, sometimes four or six. They had cast aside all sincere devotion to religion because they were so far away from their abbot, and were never visited by anyone. They led an exceedingly dissolute life, and on account of their vice and recklessness and their alienation of goods belonging to it, the priory "*in temporalibus et spiritualibus quamplurimum est collapsus.*" Rather than face the inquiry, the prior preferred to beat a hasty retreat in the night, taking with him the books and silver vessels of the priory. The inquiry showed that he was guilty of flagrant adultery, "many vices of incontinence, and other criminal irregularities." Another report states that the monks left the priory at night and their being seen by the laity in the company of prostitutes and women of doubtful reputation, had involved their order in scandal and disgrace. Their behavior within the priory had been garrulous and indecent, they had eaten meat during Lent and other prohibited seasons and neglected the prescribed offices, devoting the hours for prayer to dice and other forbidden games. The bishop was shocked to learn that they had a sort of game in which they parodied the crucifixion. They were guilty of many irregularities, which on account of their enormity the bishop thought fit to suppress. Their wild life was notorious in Abergavenny and the surrounding country.⁶² After the bishop of Hereford, supported by the Pope, had deposed and removed the French prior and monks and placed an English prior and English monks in the priory, the abbot of Le Mans woke up sufficiently to protest against the monks being removed without the parent-house being consulted.⁶³ The priory seems to have prospered under the English monks and we hear of no more trouble there.

Depleted finances at the priory of Stoke Curcy in 1326 was associated with loose living and waste on the part of the monks.⁶⁴ The prior of Takeley was accused of flagrant trepass in 1336.⁶⁵ The priory of Goldcliff was unfortunate enough. Its prior had robbed it "by false and forged bills," and in 1337 its annual value was only £20 a year, whereas the king had imposed a farm of £66, 13 s., 4d.⁶⁶ A charge of theft was laid against the prior of Tickford in 1340.⁶⁷

⁶² Reg. Orleton Ep, Hereforensis, 151ff.; 192ff.

⁶³ Pat. 18, Edw. II m. 12. Pap. L. 2, 211.

⁶⁴ Tanner-Notitia, 469, note.

⁶⁵ Pat. 10, Edw. III 2: 35d.

⁶⁶ Close 11, Edw. III 2:31.

⁶⁷ Pat. 14, Edw. III 1:20d.

In addition to these cases of financial distress, due to the carelessness, vice, and waste of priors and monks and the facts noted above that in 1337 Swavesy and Farley were exempted from seizure on account of poverty, and that Eye and Sherbourne pleaded to "receive wages" rather than pay farms, we have the following cases of financial distress during our period: Stanesgate ("spiritually and temporarily ruined" in 1306)⁶⁸; Hornchurch (taken into the king's protection in 1315 "on account of its poverty, miserable state, and indebtedness");⁶⁹ Tutbery ("house is so destroyed that they have not wherewith to live"—1338);⁷⁰ Wilsford (unable to pay farm in 1339);⁷¹ Sherbourne (still heavily burdened with debt in 1340);⁷² Stratfield-Saye (restored to prior in 1342 on account of poverty);⁷³ Wolston (reduced to one monk in 1342);⁷⁴ Frampton (badly crippled in 1343);⁷⁵ Montacute (in poverty 1344);⁷⁶ and Amesbury was also in financial difficulty in 1345.

I am quite well aware of the precarious nature of such statistics, but I merely note in passing that of these cases of financial distress that come under my notice, one-third are reported in the 42 years between 1295 and 1337, and the other two-thirds from the later 11 years of the period.

⁶⁸ Duckett Visitations, 212 and f.

⁶⁹ Pat. 8, Edw. II, 2: 7.

⁷⁰ Close 12, Edw. III 2:22.

⁷¹ Cl. 13, Edw. III 1:44d.

⁷² Pat. 14, Edw. III 3:52.

⁷³ Pat. 16, Edw. III 2:40.

⁷⁴ Cl. 16, Edw. III 2:17.

⁷⁵ Pap. P. I, 26.

⁷⁶ Pap. P. I, 42.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE ALIEN PRIORIES, 1348-1414

I have chosen the date of the beginning of the Black Death as my divisional point, not because the Black Death plays a particularly important part in this history, or because anything touching the fortunes of the alien priories happened in that year, but because the Black Death is more of a land-mark in English History than the accession of any particular king, and it happens nearly to bisect the period of seizure for the alien priories. So we shall make the period from the Black Death to the confiscation of Henry V our third period.

The history of the alien priories during the first part of this period shows, as we shall see later, a steady deterioration under the king's policy of farming to the highest bidder, the wild attempts of the foreign houses to save what they could and the administration of priors who at least were no better than their predecessors. But there is no outstanding event in their history until the year 1361. In that year, on the establishment of peace between England and France, the alien priories were restored to their priors, proctors, etc., "to hold as before the war without any farm to be rendered." A patent roll of that year gives—in addition to names of a number of foreign abbeys and certain aliens in Guernsey, Jersey, etc.—the following list of English priories and manors which were restored,—79 of which will be found in our list of real priories;—Scarborough (church), Montacute, Northampton, Arundel, Cammeringham (manor), Otterton, Prittlewell, St. Neot's, Wotton, Lenton, Barnstaple, Beckford (manor), Wenlock, St. Helen's (manor), Newton Longueville, Long Bennington, Monks Kirby, Goldcliff, St. Michael's Mount, Panfield, Birstall, St. Clare, Allerton Maulverer, Llangenyth, Stoke near Clare, Wilmington, Blyth, Lancaster, Tywardreath, Loders, Appuldercombe, Steventon, Ware, Creting and Everdon (manor), Hayling, Minting, Avebury, Farleigh, Iselham and Lynton, Swavesey, Holy Trinity York, Wengale, Frampton, Ogbourne, Totnes, Astley, Brimpsfield (manor), Tofts, Horton, Harmondsworth, Stanesgate, Minster Lovell, Wangford, Lapley (manor), Pembroke, Weeden Pinkney, Bermondsey, Newent (manor), Deerhurst, Ravendale, Pontefract, Burwell, Horsham, Eye, Clatford, Throwley (manor), Upchurch (church), Tutbury, Takeley, Lewisham, Sporle, Abergavenny, Stoke Curcy, Wilsford, Tickford, West Mersea, Carisbroke, St. James by Exeter, Wast, (manor), Cowick, Hagh, Hagham, Edith Weston, Wareham, Wolston, Hinckley, Folkstone, Andover, Ippelpen (manor), Ecclesfield (manor), Uphaven (manor), Sherbourne, Leominster, Monmouth.

But the alien priories were not to enjoy their liberty for long. When the war was renewed in 1369 they were again seized. Shortly before the seizure the Commons petitioned that something should be done to prevent the alien religious betraying the secrets of the realm.¹ The king followed precedent and seized their possessions.² They thus returned to their status before the restitution of 1361. It may be noted in passing that orders were issued to Spalding following this seizure reminding it that on account of the seizure it must cease paying apport to St. Nicholas Angers, which shows clearly that such apports were paid during the periods of peace and that there was no thought of applying to them the statute of Carlisle.³

Four years later, in 1373, we find the Commons accusing the alien monks of acting as spies and stating that not only information but money also was being sent out of the country by them. They petitioned that provision should be taken against this danger and that all French monks be removed twenty miles from the sea. No action was taken, however.⁴

In 1375 the Commons gave another evidence of increasing interest in the alien priory problem in calling attention to the fact that French abbeys were suing in the court of Rome to recover their pensions from subject priories in England.⁵ In 1376 they brought forward a demand for the banishment of all French monks and the appointment of English monks in their places; the Frenchmen knew neither the language nor the customs of the land, the priories were falling into decay, alms were neglected, and it was commonly supposed that through them the counsel of the land was discovered and its goods carried to the enemy. The French monks were masters of the alien priories and were very indignant if any Englishmen were advanced among them no matter how able they might be.⁶

In the next year, 1377, the Commons again urged the banishment of all French monks in the alien priories in order that money might be gained for the war "and information kept from the enemy which is now discovered and spied out by the afore-named persons." This time the movement met with considerable success. With the exception of

¹ Rot. Parl. III, 300a.

² *Ibid.*, 302a.

³ Cl. 43 Edw. III m. 11.

⁴ Rot. Parl. II, 320a, b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II 333a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II 342a.

members of conventual priories and those that held a life-title to their offices,—who must, however, be good and loyal persons and not suspected of being spies—all alien monks were banished.

They had to leave the country by the port of Dover, where they were searched to see that they took nothing with them save necessary expenses.⁷ As soon as a "vacancy" should occur in the conventual priories, the place should be filled by an English monk. The number of monks in each of the alien priories was to be kept up by the patrons presenting to the bishops monks from English houses who should perform all the religious duties incumbent upon those priories. The religious duties being provided for—including administration of appropriate churches, etc.,—the temporalities should be farmed during the war to the highest bidder.⁸

We have seen that the petitions of the Commons urging this measure made a great deal of the danger of the alien priories harboring spies and generally "betraying the secrets of the realm." I have not found many

⁷ This applied to secular clergy and laymen also with certain exceptions, but we are only concerned here with the alien priories.

⁸ Rot. Parl. III 22-3. In Statutes of the Realm I Hy. V c. 7, a statute there given refers to an ordinance of the thirteenth year of the reign of Richard II, which in contents is identical with this enactment of 1 Richard II. The reference runs as follows: Whereas, in the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the time of King Richard II, the thirteenth year of his reign, it was ordained, that none alien Frenchmen should have nor enjoy any benefice within the realm for certain cause, which might come or happen, but that they should be delivered and voided forever out of the realm before a certain time in the said ordinance limit, as in the same is plainly contained; and that at what time that any priories, aliens conventual, or any other benefice or office due by the king's title, do void by the departing or death of the said priors and other occupiers, that then there should be during the wars, honest English persons put in their place to accomplish the divine service, and none of the enemies aforesaid." A confirmatory ordinance may have been passed in 13 Richard I, but it is much more probable that there is a mistake in Statutes of the Realm I Hy. V c. 7. There can be no mistake in the Rotuli Parliamentorum. All the evidence bears out the fact that this banishment occurred in 1377. If any confirmation of the date of the enactment described above were necessary, I have it at hand in a copy of a fifteenth century document, which I found in the Record Office (Exchequer K. R. Ecclesiastical Documents Bdle. 1 No. 19) which purports to be a legal opinion on certain clauses in an act of 1 Richard II and begins as follows, "by the act of Parliament held the 13th day of October in the first year of the reign of King Richard II it was ordained that follows: that all manner of aliens as well religious as others should be voided out of the realm by Candlemas the next following forever during the war." Is the fact that this act was passed on the 13th day of October, as indicated above, responsible for a slip in copying which gives us "13th year" in Statutes of the Realm I Hy. V c. 7? I regret that I did not discover this until after my return America, when I did not have access to the manuscripts.

records of actual cases which go to support this charge against the alien monks. In 1342 there occurred what looks like a real—and flagrant—case of spying at the priory of Andwell, and the abbot of Tiron is charged with sending the spies.⁹ Charges were brought against supposed spies at the priory of St. Michael's Mount in 1354, but they were acquitted.¹⁰ In 1375 a monk on his way to the priory of Long Bennington was arrested and accused of spying but later acquitted and released.¹¹ Of course even when the charge fell through it is evidence of the general feeling with regard to the alien priories. There seems also a pretty clear case of spying and conveying treacherous information at the priory of Hayling in 1369. A close roll of that year¹² gives an order to the sheriff of Southampton "to cause the prior of Hayling, an alien, with one companion and one groom only, to be taken to the priory of Suthwyk and delivered to the prior thereof, there to abide as hereinafter rehearsed; as the king is informed that the said prior of Hayling has received of the king's enemies of France great numbers of letters and other things to the prejudice of the king and his realm, and has by letters and messengers revealed the secrets of the realm contrary to his oath to the king, wherefore the king's will is that he shall abide at his own costs in the priory of Suthwyk under custody of the prior thereof until the king be more fully certified touching the premises, so that without the presence of the prior of Suthwyk he have no speech or communication with strangers, and that the priory of Hayling meanwhile be kept and ruled by his deputies."

Many of the conventual priories which were exempted from the banishment decree of 1377 had already become to all intents and purposes English monasteries. They had become naturalized by process of "denization." The first alien priory to receive a grant of denization seems to have been that of Thetford, probably in the early years of Edward III's reign. The conditions of this grant to Thetford were often cited by way of a model in later grants of denization. The general conditions were that the monks should be English born, that they should elect their own prior and that the payment of the apport abroad should cease. In their petition for denization the prior and convent of Thetford stated that the prior and all the monks were "*Loyalx et vrays Anglais neez and norriz dedens le royaume,*" that they "*riens me apportent par dela*" and that

⁹ Cl. 43, Edw. III, m. 2.

¹⁰ Pat. 30 Edw. III 3:22.

¹¹ Cl. 49, Edw. III, m. 31.

¹² Cl. 43, Edw. III, m. 2.

they had acquired and exercised free election.¹³ The fines paid for denization were quite high in some cases. Lenton paid £500.¹⁴ In 1351 eleven Cluniac priories received grants of denization,—Lewes and its dependencies, Castleacre, Farleigh, Prittlewell, Horton, Clifford, and Stanesgate and the dependencies of Castleacre, Bromholm, Mendham, Slevesholm and Normansburg.¹⁵

The mother houses, feeling the strain, and despairing of any immediate revenue from their English possessions, were beginning to sell, although, as in the case of denization, most of the sales occurred after 1377. In 1336 Coutances chapter sold the manor of Winterborne Stickland, to the abbey of Middleton.¹⁶ In 1350 the abbot of Grestein sold a number of manors (including Creting-St. Olave) belonging to the priory of Wilmington. A certain Tideman de Lymbergh acquired the lands, the middleman in the transaction being John de Meledulo, Lord of Tancarville, who was a prisoner in England and who granted to Grestein in return for these lands certain lands in France. In this case the new owner was obliged to pay the king during the war as much as the prior of Wilmington had paid by way of farm for the same lands.¹⁷ Some time during the later part of Edward III's reign the abbey of Bec sold the priory of Steventon to Hugh de Calverly.¹⁸

The Commons continued their agitation. The ordinance of 1377 for the banishment of all alien monks except those in conventual priories does not seem to have been completely carried out, for in 1399 we find the Commons complaining that a number of such monks have not left the country, to the great peril of the king's people and that those near the sea are a special menace. For in some places the enemy might easily and suddenly "*par covyne et assent des tielx religieuses*" enter the realm and intelligence might be carried to the enemy in a night from priories like Hayling. To which reply was made that the ordinance would be carried out for the most part, and any specific complaints regarding exceptions would be attended to.¹⁹ In 1380 the Commons showed their dissatisfaction with the measure of 1377 by requesting that *all* alien monks be removed from their houses and expelled from the country "*sans retournir*" and that Englishmen be put in their places.

¹³ Reynerius-Apostolatus, etc., f. 208-9.

¹⁴ Pat. 16, Ri. II, 2: 19.

¹⁵ Pat. 25, Edw. 1: 27.

¹⁶ Pat. 10, Edw. III, 2: 8.

¹⁷ Pat. 22, Edw. III, 3: 13, Cl. 33, Edw. III, m. 7d.; Pap. L., III, 276, 338.

¹⁸ Lyson-Berkshire 375. See also Pat. 17, Ri. II, m. 7.

¹⁹ Rot. Parl. III, 64a, b.

Nothing was done, however.²⁰ While they did not want the French monks in the country, the Commons did not approve of the way in which the king and the lay farmers were devastating the alien priories. In 1385 and again in 1386 they protested against the possessions of the alien priories being farmed to laymen.²¹ In the face of these protests Richard II in the year 1387 caused public proclamation to be made inquiring who would offer the treasurer an increased farm for these possessions. The policy was still that of taking the highest bidder and ousting all those who would not come up to the mark.²² In 1389 the alien priories themselves petitioned Parliament, giving detailed reasons for their protest. They described the purposes for which the alien priories had been founded, and showed that owing to occupation by laymen divine services were curtailed or completely discontinued, alms neglected and the churches and houses falling into ruins (*destruiz et anientiz*). This was contrary to the wishes of the founders and the understanding at the time of seizure. It was consequently enacted that all conventual and instituted alien priors should be granted their priories at a *reasonable* farm, no matter how much more others might bid for them. And all such priors who had been "ousted" (by the king in the interest of lay farmers) should be restored, all patents made to the contrary notwithstanding. No priory having a church or spirituality annexed to it should be held by a layman or by an ecclesiastic to the use of a layman "but only by honest men of Holy Church, religious or secular at a reasonable farm" who should maintain divine service, perform the prescribed alms and fulfil the other purposes for which the priory was founded.²³

This is a very clear statement of the case and leaves nothing to be added regarding the way in which, by neglecting the spiritual upkeep of the priories and their appropriated churches, and by allowing the buildings to fall into ruin, lay farmers could pay a higher farm than the alien priors, and king and farmers between them net the highest possible revenue from the estates.

Before passing to the reign of Henry IV, we shall notice how in this reign of Richard II many conventual priories, warned no doubt by the measure of 1377, sought denization and many dative priories were sold by their foreign mother-houses, who despaired of receiving any revenue from them.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 96a.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 213b, 222a.

²² Pat. 10, Ri. II, 2: 26d.

²³ Rot. Parl. 262b, 276b. See also *ibid.*, 301a.

We have noticed twelve grants of denization before 1377, twelve more were issued in the reign of Richard II, and eight in the years between 1399 and 1414. The priories granted denization in Richard II's reign were: Bermondsey (1383), Eye (1384), Horsham (1390), Kersal (1392), Lenton (1393), Wangford (1393), Dudley (1395), Prene (1395), Sele (1395), Stoke by Clare (1395), Wenlock (1395).²⁴

The reign of Richard II was par excellence the period of sale in the history of the alien priories. One foreign monastery after another hastened to sell its English possessions, often at a very low figure. A small price paid over immediately looked much better to them than the remote and uncertain prospect of the restoration of the property at the close of the war. In fact many were willing to sell on condition that the purchase price be paid when the war ceased. Only four such sales had occurred before 1377, and only two after 1399, while within this reign of Richard II there were sixteen.

The sale of Arundel in 1380, occurred as a result of a project of the Earl of Arundel to establish a college of secular canons on the site of an already dilapidated priory. In a petition to the pope, the abbot of Séez showed why he was quite willing to sell his possessions at Arundel for "a fitting compensation in ready money." He stated that eighteen of his monks had been violently expelled from Arundel and other priories in England dependent on Séez, doubtless as a result of the ordinance of 1377. And since they received no revenues from these priories, the abbot and convent, as well as the said eighteen monks (who had been sent back to be cared for by a foreign house already impoverished by the loss of its English revenues) were almost compelled to beg.²⁵ In this case the purchasers were required to pay twenty marks a year to the king as long as the war continued.²⁶

In 1391 William of Wykeham did a good stroke of business by way of endowment for his educational institutions, Winchester College and New College, Oxford. Being in a good position to know that the foreign abbeys would be only too glad to sell their English possessions at a low figure, he purchased from Holy Trinity Rouen, St. George Boucherville and the hospital of Montjoux, Savoy the priories and appurtenances of Harmondsworth, Avebury, and Hornchurch, which the king granted

²⁴ Pat. IV, Ri. II, 3: 5. Pat. 8, Ri. II, 1: 3; Pat. 14, Ri. II, 2: 39; Pat. 16, Ri. II, 2: 19; Pat. 16, Ri. II, 2: 19; Pat. 17, Ri. II, 1: 14; Pat. 18, Ri. II, 2: 27; Pat. 18, Ri. II, 2: 27; Pat. 19, Ri. II, 2: 3; Pat. 19, Ri. II, 1: 8; Pat. 18, Ri. II, 2: 27.

²⁵ Pap. L. IV, 239-240.

²⁶ Pat. 10 Ri. II 2: 26d.

him license to acquire and hold quit of all farms, rents, etc., as held by the said abbots and convents before the properties came into the king's hands.²⁷ He also purchased in the same year for New College from the abbey of Tiron the priories of Andwell, Hamble and Titley and the church of St. Cross.²⁸

The other priories sold in this reign were: Astley to John Beauchamp in 1381; Edith Weston to the Carthusian House at Coventry 1390; Weedon Pinkney to the Cistercian abbey of Biddlesdon in 1392; Swavesey to the Carthusians of Coventry in 1393; Eskdale to John Hewet in 1394; Birstall to the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall in 1396; Wolston to the Carthusians of Coventry in 1396; Haghham to the Carthusians of Coventry in 1397.²⁹

In the early years of Henry IV's reign the alien priories enjoyed a short breathing spell. Henry restored the alien priories in the first year of his reign on condition that they pay yearly to the king during the war with France the apport due to the mother-house in time of peace, support *English* monks to the number of the first foundation, pay all arrears of farm and pay the tenths, fifteenths, and other subsidies granted to the king by the clergy and commonality of the realm. In the preamble the reason for this restoration is said to be the fact that the priories had fallen into decay and alms and works of charity had been neglected owing to the various occupations and to the removal and expulsion of the priors, lay farmers and others.³⁰

In 1400 the Commons presented a very mild petition asking that the *dative* priories be seized but nothing was done.³¹ In another petition they commended the action of the king so far as the conventual priories were concerned.³² In 1402 the petition that the possessions of all but the conventual priories be seized into the king's hands was repeated and this time received the king's consent.³³ Early in the following year (January, 1403) the various alien priors were summoned before the king and council where each was given opportunity to prove that he was

²⁷ Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 11, 10 and 9. Pap. L. IV 439-451.

²⁸ Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 1 Pap. L. 4:440.

²⁹ MSS Dodsworth (Bodl.) 120 fol. 17. Pat. 14 Ri. II 1: 15, 2: 43. Harl. MSS (B. M.) 4714 f. 250. Pat. I Ri. II 6: 19. Pat. 17 Ri. II 1: 1. Pat. 18 Ri. II 1: 11. MSS Dodsworth (Bodl.) 7, fol. 237. Pat. 18 Ri. II 2: 2. Pat. 20 Ri. II 1: 32. Pat. 20 Ri. II 1: 32.

³⁰ Pat. 1 Hy. IV 2: 13.

³¹ Rot. Parl. III, 457 b.

³² *Ibid.*, 469 a.

³³ *Ibid.*, 491a, 499a.

a conventual prior, the conventual priors having their priories restored and all other priories being seized.³⁴ In the same year, 1304, on the petition of the Commons there was another general banishment of all alien monks except conventual priors "and such other priors as have institution and induction" who were allowed to remain on giving surety not to disclose the secrets of the realm. English monks were to be put in the place of those banished.³⁵ In 1407 and again in 1410 the Commons petitioned that Englishmen be permitted and encouraged to cross the channel and purchase from the foreign abbeys the possessions of the dative priories.³⁶

1404

On the accession of Henry V in 1413 there was a general confirmation of the seizure of alien priories except conventual priories to which, however, Englishmen were to be presented as soon as vacancies occurred.³⁷

Then in the next year, 1414, comes the end of the story. On the petition of the Commons, the king took into his hands for all time all the possessions of alien priories except those of conventual priories. This is the one event in connection with the alien priories that is recorded in most of the histories and it is noteworthy that in nearly every case it is stated that *all* the alien priories were confiscated. The exception of the conventual priories from this confiscation is rather too large an exception to be overlooked in this way. The petition of the Commons which resulted in this confiscation is worthy of quotation:

"Prient les Communes, que en cas que final Pees soit pris par entre vous nostre sovereign Seigneur, et vostre Adversarie de France, en temps a venir, et sur ceo toutz les possessions des Priories Aliens en Engleterre esteantz, as chiefs Maisons de Religeouses de par dela, as queux tieux possessions sont regardantz, serront restitutz, damage et perde avientdroient a vostre dit Roialme, et a vostre people de mesme le Roialme, par les graundes fermes et apportz de Monoye quel d'an en an toutz jours apres serroient renduz de mesmes les possessions a les chiefs Maisons avaunt ditz, a tres graunde empoverissement de mesme vostre Roialme en cell partie, que Dieu defende; Plese a vostre tres noble et tres gracios Seigneur, par consideration, que a la commencement de la Guerre commenee par entre les ditz Roialmes, de toutz les possessions queux voz lieges alors avoient des douns de vos nobles progenitours en les parties de par dela deinz la jurisdiction de France, par jugement renduz en-

³⁴ Proc. Priv. Council I, 190 and f. Cl. 4 Hy. IV m. 30.

³⁵ Rot. Parl. III, 529a.

³⁶ Rot. Parl. III, 617b, 644a, b.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, IV 13a, b.

mesme le Roialme de France, sont pur toutz jours oustez et desheritez. Et sur ceo gracieusement ordeiner en cest present Parlement, par assent de voz Seigneurs Espirituelx et Temporelx, que toutz les possessions de Priories Aliens en Engleterre esteantz purront demurrer en vos mains, a vous, et a vos heirs pur toutz jours; a l'entent, que divines services en les lieux avaunt ditz purront pluis duement estre faitz per gentz Englois en temps a venir, que n'ont estre faitz avaunt ces heures en ycelles per gentz Fraunceys. Forspris les possessions de Priories Aliens Conventuelx, et des Priours que sont induct et institutz."³⁸

This final act seems to come like a bolt from the blue inasmuch as none of the previous petitions have anything to say about confiscation, however exacting they may be about the banishment of French monks. I think it altogether probable, however, that a movement for confiscation had been gathering impetus for some time. There were not wanting plenty of suggestions of the validity and value of confiscation of church lands. A strong anti-clerical movement had been gaining strength for some time side by side with a growing national sentiment, the latter being amply illustrated in this very history of the alien priories. Nor must we forget how Wycliffe had crystallized both these movements. However unpopular his other doctrines may have been, there are many evidences of the popularity of his teaching in regard to the temporalities of the church. Dominion depended upon grace; the church had failed in the latter, therefore she had forfeited her right to her property. Riches had been her ruin, her only safety lay in support by voluntary contributions. It was the duty as well as the right of the king to deprive the church of her temporalities when they were being misused.³⁹ A people who felt that in many respects the temporalities of the church *were* being abused and that large national interests needed all the national wealth that could be provided had not been slow to take up this doctrine of the great Oxford teacher. There was a live confiscation movement on foot in the years immediately preceding 1414. One thinks of Archbishop Arundel on his knees before the king begging him not to listen to the confiscatory proposals made in the parliament of 1405.⁴⁰ Probably the most striking evidence of it is presented in the Parliament of 1410 where not only was there another proposal made to confiscate all the temporalities of the church but men talked of how many more knights and

³⁸ Rot. Parl. IV, 22.

³⁹ See Trialogus IV, 18 De Civili Dominio c. 19, 22 De Ecclesia 332. De Eucharista 320 De Blasphemia 156.

⁴⁰ Cobbett—Parl. Hist. I, 296.

squires, how much more provisions, and so on, could be supplied for the French war if only such action were taken.⁴¹ Of course very few favored any such scheme as that of Oldcastle, but with the confiscation cry in the air it is not strange that the question should be asked "Why not confiscate the alien priories?" Their case met all the demands of theory and of practical patriotism, they had no friends in England, their superiors were in the land of the enemy, their pope was on the other side of a schism, and parliament had a number of stock arguments that could always be used against them.

In the meantime several conventual priories had received grants of denization,—Northampton (1405), Montacute, Carswell, Holme, Malpas, St. Syriac (all in 1407), St. Neot's (1409).⁴²

We have already had many evidences that throughout this closing period of their history the internal condition of the alien priories was going from bad to worse. Cases of flagrant immorality and theft appear in connection with the following priories;—St. Neot's, Edith Weston, Monks Kirby, Amesbury, West Sherbourne, Totnes, Alberbury, Farleigh.⁴³ There were wasteful priors in many of the above, at Stoke, Edith Weston, Wilsford, Wolston, Lancaster⁴⁴ and probably many others of which we have no record. And the following forty-one priories report financial distress during this last period,—Edith Weston, Wilsford, Wolston, Monks Kirby, Spalding, Llangenyth, Eye, Barnstaple, Bromholm, Bermondsey, Farleigh, Ravendale, Takeley, Deerhurst, Leominster, Wenlock, Lancaster, Ogbourne, Astley, Stoke, Harmondsworth, Wangford, Horton, Prittlewell, Pontefract, Northampton, Stanesgate, Lenton, Holme, St. Neot's, Panfield, Sherbourne, Minster, Hamble, Chepstowe, Lewes, Hinkley, Blyth, Arundel, Long Bennington, Allerton Maulverer.⁴⁵ These cases which have come under my notice do not

⁴¹ Landsdown MSS (B.M.) I, 26.

⁴² Pat. 8 Hy. IV, 2: 10. Pat. 10 Hy. IV, 2: 23. For the few sales of alien priories between 1399 and 1414 I refer the reader to the appendix.

⁴³ Pat. 10, Hy. IV, 2: 23. Pap. L. VI, 250. Misc. Chanc. Inq. file 172. Pap. L. IV, 537. Pap. L. V, 160, VII 373, Reg. Wykeham III fol. 34 b. Pat. 4 Hy. V m. 20. Pat. 32 Edw. III 1: 9. Cl. 39 Edw. III m. 27.

⁴⁴ Pat. 2 Hy. V, 3: 2 and 1. Misc. Chanc. Inq. file 172. Add. MSS 6164 fol. 491, 495. Pat. 31 Edw. III 1: 15.

⁴⁵ Misc. Chanc. Inq. file 172. Add. MSS 6164 fol. 491, 495. Pat. 31 Edw. III 1: 27. Pap. L. IV 537. *Ibid.*, III, 457. Pap. P. I 213. Pat. 15 Ri. II 1: 36 d. Pat. 8 Ri. II 1: 3. Pap. L. VI, 279. *Ibid.*, V, 13, 506. Cl. 39 Edw. III m. 27. Pat. 32 Edw. III 2: 36. Pat. 2, Hy. IV 3: 1d. Pat. 23 Edw. III 2: 30. Pat. 12 Ri. II 1: 13d. Pat. 20 Edw. III 2: 27. Pat. 28 Edw. III 1: 20. Pat. 33 Edw. III 2: 27. Pat. 31 Edw. III 1: 15. Pap. L. IV 80. Cl. 49 Edw. III m. 39. Pat. 2 Hy. V 3: 2 and 1.

represent all of the alien priories which were badly depleted financially during these years. There were doubtless many cases of which there is no record.

This brings us to the close of the period I have undertaken to discuss. I have indicated, however, in the appendix the ultimate disposal of nearly all the priories. It will be observed that the majority of the estates confiscated in 1414 went to Oxford and Cambridge colleges,—King's College, Cambridge especially—Eton School, and the endowment of certain new Carthusian monasteries. The colleges and schools received by far the greater part, which fact reflects the development of the history of philanthropy in England from the day when our story began with kings and nobles showering gifts on monasteries as the only adequate channel of charity.

Cl. 32 Edw. III m. 20. Pat. 17 Ri. II 1: 14. Pat. 29 Edw. III 1: 27. Pat. 38 Edw. III 1: 29. Pat. 36 Edw. III 1: 10. Pat. 35 Edw. III 2: 18. Pat. 29 Edw. III 2: 33. Pat. 3 Ri. II 2: 19. Pap. L. V, 258. *Ibid.*, IV, 396. Rot. Parl. III, 610-611. Pat. 21 Ri. II 2: 31. Cl. 14 Edw. III 2: 38. Pat. 3 Hy. V 1: 25 d. Add MSS 6164 fol. 388.

VALUE d.	FARM (in 1337 except where otherwise indicated) £. s. d.	APPORT £. s. d.	ULTIMATE DISPOSAL
8 (1320)		5 7	Survived confiscation
8 (44 Edw. III)			Sold in 1391—Wykeham
4 (3 Ri. II)			Confiscated—King's Camb.
6 (1291)			
2 (22 Edw. I)	4		Sold 1391—Wykeham
(1291)	6 13 4 (1342)		
11 (18 Edw. II)	63 13 4	13 6 8	Sold by prior and convent 1414
(18 Edw. II)	30		Sold 1380
	35		
	27 (1340)		
(1374)	16 13 4 (1375)		Sold—1381 to John Beau-
	20 (1380)		champ
(22 Edw. I)	24		Sold 1391—Wykeham
	55 6 8 (1391)		Survived confiscation
	6 13 4		
2 (1291)	100	6 6 8	Denization 1381
4 (1291)			Sold 1396—Kirkstall (Cist.)
2 (3 Ri. II)	13 6 8	2	Survived confiscation
(10 Ri. II)			
1 (22 Edw. I)	60	2	Survived confiscation
7 (1291)			Conf.—King's Chamb.
4 (1291)			Survived confiscation
10 (44 Edw. III)			Conf.—College of Tatershall
2 (10 Ri. II)			
(1291)	113 6 8		Conf.—Shene (Carth.)
	100 (1355)		
(44 Edw. III)			Denization 1407
3 (1291)			Denization 1351
			Conf.—Christ Ch., Camb.
4 (1291)	20 (1344)		Denization (Lewes) 1351.
	10		Conf.—Eton
4 (22 Edw. I)	13 6 8 (1439)		
7 (1325)	40		Survived confiscation
	10 13 4		Conf.—Christ Ch., Camb.
11 (1291)			
1 (1291)	110 (1294)		Survived Conf.—Den. 1443
	110 (1360)		
	5		
11 (18 Edw. II)	30		Denization 1395
	16 (1386)		Sold 1390—Coventry (Carth.)
(22 Edw. I)			Conf.—Eton
(1291)			Conf.—Eton
			Sold 1394—John Hewet

VALUE d.	FARM (in 1337 except where otherwise indicated) £. s. d.	APPORT £. s. d.	ULTIMATE DISPOSAL
35 10 (44 Edw. III)	160		Denization 1384
	94 10 (1347)		
36 4 (22 Edw. I)			Denization 1351
37 8 (1291)	30	4	Survived confiscation
38 1 (18 Edw. II)	90		
	100 (1347)		
39 4 (1291)	66 13 4 (1324)	1	
40 8 (10 Ri. II)	73 6 8		Conf.—Mountgrace (Carth.)
	33 6 8 (1414)		
41 (44 Edw. III)			Sold 1397—Coventry
6 (3 Ri. II)			
42 8 (22 Edw.)	7		Sold 1391 to Wykeham and New College, Oxf.
43 4 (1291)	80		Sold 1391—Wykeham
44 7 (18 Edw. II)	66 3 4 (1413)		Conf.—Shene (Carth.)
45 3 (3 Ri. II)	32		Conf.—Mountgrace (Carth.)
9 (10 Ri. II)	40 (1407)		
46 4 (10 Ri. II)	4		Denization 1407
47 8 (18 Edw. II)			
48	53 6 8 (1391)		Sold 1391—Wykeham
49 8 (18 Edw. II)	100	1 6 8	Denization 1390
50			
8 (44 Edw. III)	26 13 4		Denization 1351
51 Lenton			Denization (Lenton) 1392
52 8 (1291)	66 13 4		Survived Conf. of 1414 but la-
	110 (1413)	33 6 8	ter granted to Sion
53 3 (10 Ri. II)	80	2 10	Denization 1392
54	26 13 4 (1346)		
	14 (1439)		
55 5 (1291)	333 6 8	5	Denization 1351
56 (44 Edw. III)	6 13 4		Conf.—Shene (Carth.)
57 (44 Edw. III)			Conf.—Pembroke, Camb.
58	20 (1400)		Conf.—All Souls, Oxf.
59 (10 Ri. II)	70		Conf.—Sion.....
60 (3 Ri. II)	80 (1399)		Conf.—Mountgrace (Carth.)
(10 Ri. II)			
61			Denization 1407
62 5 (1291)			Denization (Castleacre) 1351
63			
64 8 (22 Edw. I)	8 13 4 (1439)		Conf.—Eton
65 10 (3 Ri. II)	18		Conf.—Mountgrace (Carth.)
8 (10 Ri. II)	20 (1358)		
66 11 (18 Edw. II)	10 13 4		Conf.—Eton
67 2 (1291)		6 6 8	Survived Confiscation

VALUE	FARM (in 1337 except where otherwise indicated) £. s. d.	APPORT £. s. d.	ULTIMATE DISPOSAL
(3 Ri. II)	53 6 8		Conf.—Axholm (Carth.)
10 (10 Ri. II)			
3 (1291)	120	8	Denization 1407
8 (22 Edw. I)	95		Conf.—New College, Oxf.
1 (18 Edw. II)	133 6 8		Denization (Castleacre) 1351
9 (1291)	100 (1345)	1	Denization 1405
	520		Conf.—Windsor Coll. (Hy. V)
4 (1415)	100		Kings, Camb. (Hy. VI)
2 (18 Edw. II)	75		Conf.—Sion
2 (1 Ri. II)	25 (1408)		Sold to J. Woodhouse 1413
5 (1291)	26 13 4		Conf.—Humphry Duke of
(1291)			Gloucester (St. Albans)
6 (1291)	40		Survived Confiscation
5 (3 Ri. II)	10 13 4 (1344)		Denization 1395
8 (10 Ri. II)			Denization 1351
2 (1291)			Conf.—Southwell Church
2 (1325)			Denization 1392
			Conf.—All Souls, Oxf.
			Conf.—Kings Camb.
(44 Edw. III)	160	10 13 4	
(18 Edw. II)		1 10	Denization 1409
9 (44 Edw. III)	33 6 8		Denization 1407
	80	13 6 8	Denization 1394
1 (1291)			Conf.—Eton
2 (18 Edw. II)	6 13 4		Denization (Castleacre) 1351
	8		Survived Confiscation
9 (22 Edw. I)	60		Conf.—Eton
7 (1291)	200		Denization 1351
8 (18 Edw. II)			Sold later part of reign Edw.
9 (10 Ri. II)			III to Hugh de Calverly
8 (18 Edw. II)			Denization 1395
	126		Conf.—Eton
	133 6 8 (1391)		Sold 1393—Coventry (Carth.)
7 (1291)			Sold 1391—Wykeham
2 (22 Edw. I)	60	1 6 8	Denization
7 (18 Edw. II)	33 6 8 (1345)	2	Survived confiscation
2 (1291)			Sold 1391—Wykeham
4	80		Conf.—Witham (Carth.)
	40 (1439)		

VALUE d.	FARM (in 1337 except where otherwise indicated) £. s. d.	APPORT £. s. d.	ULTIMATE DISPOSAL
1 (1291)		2	Survived confiscation
15 (3 Ri. II)	66 13 4		
1	80 (1413)		Survived confiscation
10 (44 Edw. III)	20		Denization 1393
1	230		Conf.—Shene
	245 (1398)		
16 (18 Edw. II)	2		Conf.—Shene
(10 Ri. II)			
18 (18 Edw. II)			Sold 1392—Biddledon (Cist.)
15 (3 Ri. II)	10		Conf.—Kings Camb.
8 (10 Ri. II)			
11 (44 Edw. III)	170	5	Denization 1395
2 (3 Ri. II)			
17 (18 Edw. II)	50		Conf.—Higham Ferrars
	60 (1378)		
1	170		Sold reign of Henry IV— Chapter Chichester
10 (44 Edw. III)	25		Survived confiscation
10 (3 Ri. II)	13 6 8 (1406)		
14 (3 Ri. II)	30		Sold 1396—Coventry (Carth.)
5 (10 Ri. II)	13 6 8 (1358)		
18 (10 Ri. II)	40		
1 (3 Ri. II)	100	2	Survived confiscation

Authorities for Table

The numbers in the following list stand for the numbers of the priories as given in the first column of the table. The letters represent the following classes of facts given in the other columns:—

- a—Facts concerning foundation of priory.
- b—Conventual or dative.
- c—Number of monks.
- d—Farm.
- e—Apport.
- f—Ultimate disposal.

The authorities for the figures in the value column are Tax. P. Nich. and Add. MSS 6164. Both of these authorities are well indexed and we have thought it unnecessary to give the page references for each priory. The authorities for the amount of farm in 1337 are Cl. II Edw. III, 2:37 and Cl. 12 Edw. III 1:20 and only those for other dates are indicated below.

1. a.—Round. 1045-6; b.—Proc. P. C. I, 190 and f. Pat. 3 Hy. VI 1: 24; c.—Pap. L. II, 186. Hereford Ep. Reg. Orleton 151, 192; e.—Hereford Ep. Reg. Orleton 193; f.—Pat. 3 Hy. VI 1: 24.
2. a.—Chart. R. 17 Hy. III m. 14. Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin (R. S.) 410. Mon. VI 1031; b.—Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 10; f.—*Ibid*.
3. a.—Round. 1233; c.—Pat. 31 Edw. III 1: 24d. Add. MSS 6164, f. 388; f.—Pat. 19 Hy. VI 3: 18.
4. a.—Reyneri Apost. Ben. II, 126. Rog. Hovedon fol. 320. Mon. II, 333; b.—Pap. L. IV 539-40; c.—Gesta Henrici I and Ri. I, 165. Tanner-Notitia.
5. a.—Tanner-Notitia; b.—Ancient Deeds A. 3242; d.—Cl. 16 Edw. III 1: 28. f.—Pat. 14 Ri. II 2:1.
6. a.—Tanner-Notitia.
7. a.—Pat. 8 Edw. II 2: 1; b.—Pat. 10 Hy. IV 2: 15 and 14; d.—Wykeham Reg. (Hampshire Rec. Soc.) II 615; e.—Pat. 10 Hy. IV 2: 15 and 14; f.—Pat. 2 Hy. V 3: 26 and 25.
8. a.—P. L. IV 239. Round. Doc. 655; b.—Reg. Peckham (R. S.) II, 561; c.—Cl. 14 Edw. III 2: 38. Chan. Misc. Bdle. 18 file No. 6. Pap. L. IV 239-40; d.—Cl. 14 Edw. III 2: 38; e.—Pat. 3 Ri. II 3: 12:: 1: 12. Pap. L. IV, 239; f.—Pat. 10 Ri. II 2: 26d.
9. a.—Tanner-Notitia; d.—Pat. 4 Ri. II 2: 18. Cl. 49 Edw. III m. 39; f.—MSS Dodsworth (Bodl.) 120 fol. 17.
10. a.—Neustria Pia 691. Pat. 9 Edw. II 2: 11 (Inspex); b.—Feudal Aids V, 205; d.—Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 11; f.—Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 10.
11. a.—Round. Doc. 1267-8 Mon. 5: 197; b.—Proc. Privy Council 1: 190 and f. P. P. I 465. Yr. Bks. 18 Edw. III Easter No. 26; c.—Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 134; f.—Mon. V 196 and f.
12. a.—Ann. Mon. (R.S.) III, 425, 427. IV, 373. Matthew Paris—Chr. Maj. (R.S.) II, 29, 35; b.—Pap. L. I 404-6. Pignot-Order of Cluni II, 566 and f. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 37, II, 124, 125, 131; e.—Y. B. 15 Edw. III Hil. No. 36; f.—Pat. 4 Ri. II 3: 5.
13. a.—Mon. VI, 1020, Tanner-Notitia; b.—Pap. L. V, 16, III, 62; d.—Pat. 18 Ri. II 2: 2; f.—MSS Dodsworth (Bodl.) 7 fol. 237. Pat. 18 Ri. III 2: 2.

14. a.— Round. 83; b.— Pap. P. I, 432. Archb. Gray's Reg. 72, 106, 117. Archb. Gifford's Reg. 3. Pat. I Hy. IV 2: 13; e.— Harl. MSS 3759 fol. 48. Pat. I Edw. IV 3: 23; f.— Mon. IV 620 and f.
15. a.— Mon. IV, 646. Cotton MSS. Claud. A. IV fol. 1b. Round. 921; b.— Mon. IV, 646 and f. Cl. 12 Edw. III 3: 23d. Reg. Peckham III 1012; c.— Mon. IV 646 and f. Cotton MSS Claud. A. VI fol. 16. Round. 928. See also Chan. Misc. Bdle. 18 file No. 6. Reg. Peckham (R.S.) II 682-3; e.— Cotton. MSS Claud. A. VI fol. 16; f.— Mon. IV 641 and f.
16. a.— Tanner-Notitia. Mon. VI 174. Bodl. Chart. Suff. 188. V. C. H.—Suffolk II 94. Pat. 24 Edw. I m. 21; f.— Pat. 31 Hy. VI 1: 20.
17. a.— Mon. II 613 and f. Ch. & Rec. Cl. I, 198, II, 212; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 37; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 37, II, 127, 211, 212; f.— Mon. V 59 and f.
18. a.— Harleian MSS 2044 f. 105. Round. 1239; f.— Mon. VI 1015.
19. a.— Transcript of a chartulary of Carisbroke in possession of W. A. Lindsay K. C. F. S. A. cited in V. C. H.—Hampshire II 230; b.— *Ibid.*; c.— Add. MSS 6164; d.— Pat. 29 Edw. III 3: 8; f.— Pat. 5 Hy. V m. 35. Pat. 3 Hy. V 2: 7.
20. b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 136; f.— Denization of Montacute. Pat. 8 Hy. IV 2: 10.
21. a.— Mon. V 49. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 50-3; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 37; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 142, I, 37, II, 127; f.— Pat. 25, Edw. III 1: 27.
22. a.— Tanner-Notitia. William's Hist. of Monmouthshire App. LXXIII (p. 187); c.— Pat. 1 Hy. IV 4: 1; f.— Pat. 2 Edw. IV 2: 16.
23. a.— Cl. 20 Edw. III 2: 16d. Tanner-Notitia; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37; c.— *Ibid.*, II, 137, 210; d.— Cl. 20 Edw. III 2: 16d.; f.— Pat. 25, Edw. III 1: 27.
24. a.— Round. Doc. 120. Mon. VI, 1003; b.— Pap. P. I, 80; d.— Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8; f.— Mon. VI 1003.
25. a.— Tanner-Notitia; b.— Pat. 18 Hy. VI 2: 21; f.— *Ibid.*
26. a.— Mon. VI, 1035. Pat. 1 Edw. III 3: 6. Chart. 15 Hy. III m. 4; c.— Mon. VI, 1035; f.— Pat. 2 Edw. IV 2: 16.
27. a.— Registres de Gregoire IX, 91. Mon. V, 178; b.— Pap. L. IV 387. No institutions in Linc. Ep. Reg. Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.
28. a.— Mon. III, 664. Pat. 21 Hy. VI 2: 37; b.— *Ibid.*; c.— Worc. Reg. Vac. Sede 308; d.— Cl. 19 Edw. III 1: 5; f.— Pat. 21 Hy. VI 2: 37.
29. a.— Ann. Mon. (R.S.) III, 436. Tanner-Notitia; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 33 and f.; c.— Cl. 12 Edw. III 1: 4, Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 139, 213.
30. a.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 198. Mon. V, 83; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 213; f.— Denization of Wenlock (Pat. 18 Ri. II 2: 27).
31. a.— Pat. 9 Edw. II 2: 11 (Inspex). Round Doc. p. 66, 69; b.— Misc. Chan. Inq. file 172; d.— Pat. 9 Ri. II 2: 30; f.— Pat. 14 Ri. II 1: 15, 2: 43.
32. a.— Round. p. 348; f.— Pat. 1 Edw. IV 3: 24.
33. a.— Tanner-Notitia; f.— Pat. 13 Edw. IV 1: 10.
34. a.— Mon. VI, 1025; b.— Sold by mother-house. Pat. 18 Ri. II 1: 11; f.— Pat. 18 Ri. II 1: 11.

35. a.— Round. Doc. 413; b.— Ancient Petitions 836. Pap. L. I 273, 414, II 352 et al. B. M. Seals. 3140; c.— Mins. Acc. Bdle. 996 No. 12; d.— Pat. 20 Edw. III 3: 9; f.— Pat. 8 Ri. II 1: 3.
36. a.— Mon. II, 26; b.— Registrum Malmesburiense 258, 294, 351-3. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 37; c.— Leland Itin. II, 24. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 37 II, 126, 137, 210; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1: 27.
37. a.— Mon. IV 674; b.— B. M. Seals 3163. Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8; e.— Harl. MSS 1145 quoted in Mon. IV, 672. Pat. 7 Edw. IV 3: 13; f.— Pat. 16 Hy. VI 2: 11; Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8.
38. a.— Round. Doc. 452; b.— Pat. 3 Hy. IV 2: 22. Pap. P. I, 26. Pat. 2 Hy. IV 1: 8; d.— Pat. 21 Edw. III 3: 34.
39. a.— Chart. 14 Edw. II m. 3 (Inspex); b.— Pat. 7 Edw. IV 3: 13; c.— Mon. VI 1021; d.— Cl. 11 Edw. III 2: 31; e.— Pat. 7 Edw. IV 3: 13.
40. a.— Mon. 6: 1329; c.— Add. MSS 6164 f. 488; d.— Pat. 1 Hy. V 5: 11 and 10; f.— Pat. 9 Hy. V 2: 19.
41. a.— Mon. VI, 1050; b.— Sold by mother-house—Pat. 20 Ri. II 1: 32; f.— Pat. 20 Ri. II 1: 32.
42. a.— Archaeologia 50: 259; c.— *Ibid.*; f.— Pap. L. 4: 440.
43. a.— Round. Doc. 77. Chartularium Monasterii Sanctae Trin. de M. Roth. LXVII (printed with Cartulaire de Saint-Bertin); b.— sold by mother-house. Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 32; f.— Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 32.
44. a.— Round Doc. 1423; b.— Year Book 15 Edward III Michaelmas No. 7; c.— Deshaye 87, 88; d.— Pat. 1 Hy. V 4: 30; f.— Pat. 3 Hy. V 2: 30.
45. a.— Mon. VI, 103; c.— 3 Hy. V 2: 39; d.— Rot. Parl. III, 610-11; f.— Pat. 3, 3 Hy. V 2: 39.
46. a.— Hutchin-Dorset I 552-3; b.— Not given in list of Cluniac conventual priories. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Hutchin I 552-3. Inq. p. m. 9 Edw. I No. 47. Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 136, 213; f.— Pat. 12 Hy. IV m. 37.
47. a.— Mon. V, 156. Bodl. Essex Charter 29; b.— Not given in list of Cluniac conventual priories Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 143, 211.
48. a.— Chart. 13 Edw. III 56 (Inspex) Chart. 26 Hy. III m. 8; b.— Ancient Pet. 5807; d.— Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 11; f.— *Ibid.* also Pap. L. IV 439-4.
49. a.— Bart. Cotton. Hist. Angl. (R.S.) 57; b.— Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 39; c.— *Ibid.*; e.— *Ibid.*—Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8; f.— Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 39.
50. a.— Round. Doc. 1391. Chart. and Rec. Cl. I 197; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 124-5; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 124, 144; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1127.
51. a.— Cole MSS 59: 188 (B.M.); b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Duckett I 33 and f.; f.— Pat. 16 Ri. II 2: 19.
52. a.— Round. Doc. 664. Harl. MSS 3764 fol. 1 a; b.— Pat. 1 Hy. IV 2: 13; c.— Lanc. Chart. f. 309. Pat. 4 Hy. IV 2: 8; d.— Pat. 1 Hy. V 4: 24; e.— Mon. VI, 998; f.— Pat. 4 Hy. V m. 22. Rot. Parl. IV, 243, V, 552. Madox. Form. Angl. 270.
53. a.— Mon. V 112. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 62-65; b.— Arch. Gray's Reg. 19, 49, 57, 82, 88, 169. Registres de Gregoire IX, II 1058 (Reg. 17 f. 185 Ann. VIII c. 96). Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37 II, 122, 126, 209; e.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 196 plan.; f.— Pat. 16 Ri. II 2: 19.
54. a.— Tanner-Notitia; d.— Pat. 20 Edw. III 2: 27. Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8

55. a.— Reyneri Apostol. Ben. II 64 and App. 59. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 43-54; b.— Arch. Gray's Reg. 77, 83, 86, 92, 100. Reg. Peckham II, 610, III, 1016; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 36, 47 II 143. Pap. L. IV 393; e.— Pap. L. I, 186. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 196 plan. Round. Doc. 1403; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1: 27.
56. a.— Round. Doc. 1372; f.— Pat. 5 Hy. V m. 22.
57. a.— Mon. III 535. Tanner-Notitia; b.— Reg. Swinfield 530; f.— Tanner-Notitia.
58. a.— Dugdale—Baronage I 69. Dugdale—Warwickshire 379; b.— Pap. L. VI 395; c.— Giraldus Cambr. (R.S.) IV 33; d.— Pat. 1 Hy. IV 7: 26; f.— Mon. VI 1047. Pat. 19 Hy. VI 2: 3.
59. a.— Round. 876; b.— Sarum Ch. and Doc. 80; d.— Pat. 22 Ri. II 3: 21.
60. a.— Add. MSS 6166 fol. 574. Mon. IV 1024; f.— Pat. 9 Hy. V 2: 19.
61. a.— Tanner-Notitia; b.— Not included in Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; f.— See Denization of Montacute (Pat. 8 Hy. IV 2: 10).
62. a.— Mon. V, 58; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and 37; c.— Mon. V 59; Ch. and Rec. Cl. II, 211; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1: 27.
63. a.— Oliver's Mon. 64.
64. a.— Abbrev. Placit. 53 b.; d.— Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8; f.— Mon. VI 1052.
65. a.— Mon. VI 1023. Cart. 10 Edw. III m. 21 (Inspex); d.— Pat. 32 Edw. III 2: 9; f.— Pat. 9 Hy. V 2: 19.
66. a.— Chart. 10 Edw. III m. 21; f.— Mon. VI 1042.
67. a.— Round. Doc. 1133; b.— Pat. 1 Hy. IV 2: 13; e.— Pat. 20 Hy. VI 3: 28 and 27; f.— *Ibid.*
68. a.— Nichol's Leicestershire Vol. II App.; b.— Cl. 21 Edw. III 1: 6 d; c.— Pap. L. IV 537; d.— Fin. 50 Edw. III m. 16; f.— Pat. 3 Hy. V 2: 39.
69. a.— Chart. 54 Hy. III m. 10 (Inspex); b.— Anc. Pet. 993, 3018, 6368, 8500. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37. Pat. 1 Hy. IV 2: 13; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37, II 123, 133, 209; e.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 196 plan. Pat. 7 Edw. IV 3: 13; f.— Pat. 8 Hy. IV 2: 10.
70. a.— Round. p. 74-7; b.— Pat. 12 Edw. II 1: 19; f.— Pat. 19 Hy. VI 3: 18 and 17.
71. a.— Mon. V 69; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I: 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 213; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1: 27.
72. a.— Mon. V 190; b.— Pat. I Hy. IV 2: 13. Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I, 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 123, 125, 132-3; d.— Fine R. 19 Edw. III m. 22; e.— Cotton. MSS Vesp. E. XVII ad finem cited Mon. V 186; f.— Pat. 6 Hy. IV 2: 25.
73. a.— Ann. Mon. II, 239. Round. Doc. 1062; b.— Pap. L. IV, 400.
74. a.— Mon. VI, 1016; b.— Reg. St. Osmund II 71; f.— Pat. 10 Hy. V m. 2.
75. a.— Pat. 5 Edw. III 1: 29; c.— Cl. 6 Edw. III m. 19; f.— Pat. 1 Edw. IV 3: 1.
76. a.— Tanner-Notitia; b.— sold by mother-house—1 Hy. V 2: 10; d.— Rec. Rolls. 10 Hy. IV Mich. T.; f.— Pat. 3 Hy. V 1: 2 and 1.
77. a.— Round. Doc. 666. Mon. VI 999; b.— Pat. 1 Hy. IV 2: 13; f.— Pat. 19 Hy. V 3: 7. Pat. 1 Edw. IV 4: 10. Pat. 11 Hy. VI 2: 4.
78. a.— Chartulary of Pontefract (Y.A.S.) I 17-8. Leland Itin. I, 41. Mon. V 120, III 121; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37 II, 210. Letters North. Reg. (R.S.) 341. Anc. Pet. 3283, 8471, 9516, 12827; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37, II 124, 141, 210; f.— Pap. L. IX, 205.
79. a.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 196, table; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; f.— Pat. 18 Ri. II 2: 27 (Denization of Wenlock).

80. a.— Anc. Ch. (P. R. Ser.) 8. Mon. V 22; b.— Common Seal. Pat. 12 Edw. II 1: 5. Pap. L. II, 211. B. M. Seals 3858. Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37. Anc. Pet. E. 155; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37, II 127, 143, 210; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1: 27.
81. a.— Mon. VI, 1050; b.— Rotuli Grossteste 50, 53, 86. Pap. P. I 488; d.— Pat. 18 Edw. III 1: 46; f.— Mon. VI 1050. Pat. 17 Hy. VI: 1 and 2.
82. a.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 196 table; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; f.— Pat. 16 Ri. II 2: 19 (Denization of Lenton).
83. a.— Tanner-Notitia; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 136, 210. Pat. 19 Hy. VI 2: 3.
84. a.— Mon. V 106. Pat. 6 Hy. IV 84. Mon. V 106. Pat. 6 Hy. IV 2: 16 (*Inspec*) b.— Not included in the list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Tanner-Notitia; f.— Pat. 2 Hy. VI 2: 6.
85. a.— Round. Doc. 689. Mon. VI, 989; b.— Round. Doc. 729; c.— *Ibid.*; e.— *Ibid.*
86. a.— Mon. III 462, 472; b.— Pat. 10 Hy. IV 2: 23; e.— Pat. 10 Hy. IV 2: 23; f.— *Ibid.*
87. a.— Mon. V, 166; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; f.— Pat. 8 Hy. IV 2: 10.
88. a.— Mon. IV 668; e.— Pat. 15 Edw. III 3: 12; f.— Pat. 19 Ri. II 2: 3.
89. a.— Mon. VI 1013-4; f.— Pat. 5 Hy. V m. 11. Pat. 1 Edw. IV, 4: 13.
90. a.— Mon. V 71; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. II 213; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1: 27.
91. a.— Add. MSS (B. M.) 35296 f. 8; b.— Add. MSS (B. M.) 35296 f. 43-4. Pap. L. V 76. Anc. Pet. 6957, 6958, 8263; c.— Mon. III 208; f.— Cl. 43 Edw. III m. 11. Pap. L. V 76. Mon. 3: 215-6. Add. MSS (B. M.) 35296 f. 42 d.
92. a.— Round. Doc. 1149; f.— Pat. 1 Edw. IV 3: 24.
93. a.— Anc. Ch. (Pipe Roll Soc.) No. 41; b.— Not included in list of Cluniac conventual priories given in Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 33 and f.; c.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. III 212; f.— Pat. 25 Edw. III 1: 27.
94. a.— Mon. II 954; f.— Pat. 35 Edw. III 1: 14.
95. a.— Mon. VI 1415; b.— Pap. L. VI 201, 456; f.— Pat. 19 Ri. II 1: 8.
96. a.— Dugdale Baronage 1: 288, 451. Tanner-Notitia; c.— Add. MSS 6164 f. 458; f.— Pat. 19 Hy. VI 2: 20.
97. a.— Dodsworth MSS (Bodl) 130: 68. Mon. VI 1001; b.— Sold by mother-house—Pat. 17 Ri. II 1: 1; f.— Pat. 17 Ri. II 1: 1.
98. a.— Mon. VI 1048. D. D. II 20 b.; b.— Sold by mother-house—Pat. 15 Ri. II 2: 11. Pap. L. IV, 440; d.— Pat. 15 Ri. II 2: 11; f.— Pat. 15 Ri. II 2: 11. Pap. L. IV 440.
99. a.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 60-61. Ord. Vit. Bk. XI, 32; b.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 37; c.— *Ibid.* II 122-3, 127, 142; e.— Ch. and Rec. Cl. I 196 plan; f.— Reyner Apost. App. fol. 208-9.
100. a.— Round Doc. 1231; b.— Yr. Bk. 17 Edw. III Hilary 5; c.— Add. MSS (B. M.) 6164 f. 542; d.— Cl. 19 Edw. III 1: 24; e.— *Ibid.* Pat. 7 Edw. IV 3: 13. Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8; f.— Pat. 16, Hy. VI 2: 11. Pat. 17 Hy. VI 2: 9 and 8.
101. a.— Pat. 50 Edw. III 1: 17. Add. MSS 6164. f.— Pat. 14 Ri. II 2: 1.

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